

## MONASTIC CUSTOMARIES AND THE PROMOTION OF DGE LUGS SCHOLASTICISM IN A MDO AND BEYOND<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The relationships that existed over multiple generations between the Wang incarnate lama lineage based at Dgon lung Monastery in Northeastern Tibet and various polities in Inner Mongolia are presented. Dgon lung Monastery in general, and the Wang Khutugtu in particular, were responsible for promoting and maintaining orthodox Dge lugs scholasticism and liturgy in Dpa' ris and beyond in Inner Mongolia. Particular attention is given to the customary composed by the Fourth Wang Khutugtu (1846-1906) for Eren Monastery in Inner Mongolia, which prescribed the system for nominating, testing, and awarding candidates for scholastic degrees.

### KEYWORDS

*bca' yig*, Buddhist monasteries, customaries, debate, Dge lugs, Dgon lung, Inner Mongolia, monastic constitutions, scholastic degrees, scholasticism, titles, Wang Khutugtu, Youning si

### INTRODUCTION

This study examines a particular *bca' yig*, 'monastic customary', composed for Eren Monastery in Inner Mongolia, and its implications for the success of the Dge lugs Sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The customary provides instructions on how to institutionalize the proper way to nominate, examine, and honor candidates for scholastic degrees. It was composed in the late nineteenth century by Wang the Fourth, a lama<sup>2</sup> from the important monastery, Dgon lung byams pa gling (Youning si), in the cultural region known as Dpa' ris (pronounced 'Huari') in A mdo (Northeastern Tibet).<sup>3</sup> Dgon lung had extensive ties with the major religious centers of Central Tibet, particularly Sgo mang College of 'Bras spungs Monastery (i.e., Drepung Gomang). As such, this study demonstrates the manner in which programs of monastic behavior – specifically, study, debate, and examination – spread across the Tibetan Plateau and Mongolia, creating networks of allegiance and a system for ensuring compliance to orthodoxy and orthopraxy.<sup>4</sup>

*Bca' yig* have been variously referred to as 'monastic constitutions', 'monastic charters', and 'monastic guidelines', though I prefer the term 'customaries' because of its flexibility. There can be 'monastic customaries' as well as various 'non-monastic customaries'. *Bca' yig* also resemble

<sup>1</sup> I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee of Charlottesville and my teacher at Dgon lung Monastery, whose name I do not disclose. Thanks also to Gerald Roche, CK Stuart, and others of *Asian Highlands Perspectives* for their continuous, helpful feedback on the present article.

<sup>2</sup> I use 'lama' to refer to a revered, incarnation lineage of the Dge lugs Sect. I use the Wylie – *bla ma* – only in cases where it is necessary to distinguish a different sort of revered figure or authority figure.

<sup>3</sup> Dgon lung is located in present-day Wushi Township, Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

<sup>4</sup> I first considered and wrote about the use of *bca' yig* as tools for imposing adherence to the Dge lugs Sect in a seminar on the Dalai Lamas taught by Professor Kurtis Schaeffer at the University of Virginia in the spring of 2009.

customaries found in the Christian monastic tradition.<sup>5</sup> Customaries purport to provide the monastery with guidelines for running the monastery and for ensuring proper comportment so as to maintain a reputation of virtue and thus ensure regular patronage. There is certainly doubt as to how much these normative texts corresponded to actual reality. For instance, much of the language found in a customary composed by Wang IV for Dgon lung Monastery is very similar (and sometimes identical) to the language found in a customary composed by the head of the aforementioned Sgo mang College for a major monastery in Alashan. Therefore, throughout this essay, I treat Wang's customaries as prescriptive rather than descriptive. Nonetheless, Wang often makes passing reference in his customaries to the way things were 'formerly' and to practices that 'used to be performed', suggesting an attempt to write a text corresponding to actual rather than idealized practices. Moreover, the fact that a monastery would regularly revise its customary or commission new ones suggests that the language found in customaries regarding the "need for a customary that accords with its time and place"<sup>6</sup> was more than just conceit.

It is important to point out that *bca' yig* were not exclusively concerned with scholastic practices such as curriculum, study, debate, examinations, and so forth. In fact, an earlier *bca' yig* written for Dgon lung Monastery, known as the 'extensive customary,'<sup>7</sup> is concerned mostly with the responsibility for ritual sponsorship, the appointment of monastic officials, and the resolution of disputes and quarrels (see Sullivan 2013). The later Dgon lung customary written by Wang IV is concerned with scholasticism, but it is equally concerned with Dgon lung's liturgy, that is, its collection or sequence of texts recited during a ritual or on various religious occasions. Like scholasticism, a liturgical tradition can act as an immediate sectarian identifier for the monastery. Beyer writes in his important work on ritual practice in Tibetan Buddhism that, "...the famous Gelug reformation in Tibet was basically cultic rather than doctrinal, and it was perhaps more a canonical fundamentalism than a reformation" (1973:53-54). His contention that cultic identity was more important than doctrine for

<sup>5</sup> Jann Ronis first suggested that I use 'customary' for '*bca' yig*'. Ellingson's 1990 article on the subject is the classic and only thorough overview of this genre. The scant Western-language material published on the subject includes Ronis (2009:156-162), Cech (1988), Ellingson (1990), Cabezón (1997), and Jansen (2014). Examples of non-monastic customaries include the *Customary for Mantrikas* by the eleventh-century Rong zom. Steve Weinberger first brought this text to my attention in 2009. A more contemporary example is the *Composition that Binds the Many Mantrikas to Discipline: A Beautiful Ornament for the Community* by an important twentieth- and twenty-first century *sngags pa* 'mantrika' from Reb kong, Ban de rgyal. Nicolas Sihle kindly shared this with me in March 2011. Finally, Jansen's recent article also explains how *bca' yig* are found in both monastic and non-monastic religious communities. Jansen is currently undertaking a comprehensive study of *bca' yig*. My conversations and correspondence with her have been extremely informative for my understanding of this genre of texts.

<sup>6</sup> 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:30b.5-6).

<sup>7</sup> The title of the text is *Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling dgon ma lag beas kyi bca' yig]* (The Customary of Pelnarthang – The Radiance that Illuminates All the Realities of the Vinaya – and the Customaries of the Mother and Child Monasteries of Radreng and Gönlung) and appears in volume 'a of Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa's (1696-1750) *Collected Works*. I have referred elsewhere to this as the 'Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo Print Edition' or 'Xylograph' in order to distinguish it from the incomplete manuscript from which I previously worked. It comprises both a *thun mong pa* 'ordinary' customary and a *thun mong ma yin pa* 'extraordinary' one. A (rather poor) scan of this was graciously sent to me by Rin chen sgrol ma of the China Tibetology Research Center. Later, I was able to photograph the xylograph at the Library of the Research Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, on the campus of Minzu University, Beijing. In addition, my teacher at Dgon lung had previously allowed me to have a manuscript copy of the 'ordinary' customary, but not the 'extraordinary' one. A monastic official told me that the monastery's customary, particularly its extraordinary version, is a *bka' rgya ma* 'sealed teaching' – only for the eyes and ears of the monastery's disciplinarians. It was also explained to me that the monastery's extraordinary customary is what defines and makes unique the monastery's practices, and thus its status. I have written more about this in Sullivan (2013).

the reformation applies equally to later periods of the Dge lugs tradition. For instance, most entries for the monasteries in Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's (1653-1705) important survey of Dge lugs monasteries conclude with something resembling the following: "[This place] resembles most small, Dge lugs monasteries with its 'ritual practices and recitations'<sup>8</sup> such as those for Guhyasamāja, Samvara, and the *Trilogy of Kṛṣṇācārya*<sup>9</sup>..." (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1998:311).<sup>10</sup> This indicates the continuing importance of ritual for a monastery's identity and reputation.

In addition, Dge lugs liturgy is inextricably linked to scholasticism and debate. The 'dharma classes'<sup>11</sup> held at Dge lugs monasteries are periods of reasoned debate that are the focus of all monastic energy and resources. Nonetheless, every dharma class is preceded by a devotional 'assembly'<sup>12</sup> at which tea and meals are served, and the dharma classes themselves open with a litany of hymns and rites that further set the stage. Texts that are fundamental to the scholastic curriculum are recited and melodically chanted during devotional assemblies. Debates begin and sometimes end with the ritual invocation of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī. Therefore, to completely disentangle them and separately treat each one is a task that is confounded from the start.

With that caveat in mind, I now turn to the focus of the present article, scholasticism, a term that has seldom been employed outside a Christian context. This term is often associated with the early medieval education of clerics, focused on the liberal arts and scholastic theology (Cabezón 1994:13, 17). In his book on Indo-Tibetan scholasticism, Cabezón has persuasively argued that the term has analytical value for cross-cultural and comparative studies. One of the first scholars to make this suggestion, Cabezón explains, is Masson-Oursel, who writes:

If scholasticism is a teaching that bases its authority in the words of a sacred text, interpreted by a corps of professionals dedicated both to establishing and defending a religious truth, and to that end rely on formal and discursive reasoning, it is exemplary of a stage in civilization of which our own Middle Ages cannot be considered the only example (in Cabezón 1994:15).

Although Cabezón critiques and improves Masson-Oursel's definitions of scholasticism, he extols his perspicacious advocacy for the comparative study of scholasticism.

Among the various characteristics of scholasticism identified by Cabezón, I emphasize two (1994:19-21, 190-193; Cabezón 1998:4-6). First, "scholastic movements are highly tradition oriented." He writes:

They have a strong sense of history and lineage and are committed to the preservation of tradition. ... [T]here is no better way to ensure that what an adept experiences is particularly Christian or Buddhist, or that the way in which an adept behaves is particularly Confucian or Jewish, than to ensure that the 'experiencer' has had a strong foundation in his or her respective intellectual tradition. ... (1994:20)

Elsewhere, I have discussed the great concern with maintaining ritual traditions that stretch back to Central Tibet (Sullivan 2013). Such continuity enhances the monastery's prestige, and has the practical benefit of boosting the mobility of the monks and lamas trained in those traditions. Similarly, a mega

<sup>8</sup> 'don chos spyod.

<sup>9</sup> nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum.

<sup>10</sup> 'Nag po skor gsum' refers to three treatises by the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee, personal communication, 7 March 2012.

<sup>11</sup> chos grwa.

<sup>12</sup> tshogs.

monastery like Dgon lung shows great respect for the 'customs'<sup>13</sup> of scriptural study and debate that were established by the monastery's eminent forebears. The scriptures used at Dgon lung are ones used in the halls of Central Tibet's major monasteries. In fact, Dgon lung had formal ties with 'Bras spungs Monastery's Sgo mang College, such that 'continuing students'<sup>14</sup> of Dgon lung monks could easily travel to Central Tibet and find residence there.<sup>15</sup>

Cabezón also makes the following point about scholasticism:

Not only was rational inquiry perceived as essential to the preservation of the tradition's self-identity, it was also considered essential to distinguishing that tradition from others, to defending it against the intellectual assaults of others, and to demonstrating its relative superiority to others. (1994:21)

Philosophical debate is perhaps the foremost medium for conveying both an individual's and an institution's intellectual reputation. Lempert writes that during inter-monastery (or inter-collegiate) debates:

...curricular texts that support each college are threatened by virtue of being placed "next to" similar-but-competing texts that support a similar-but-competing neighboring college (a college that is its rival in respects other than just doctrine, to boot). This means that should the textbook literature begin to buckle during a debate, it can threaten the integrity of the whole college. This explains why a defendant's poor performance in a public defense (*dam bca'*) is not just bad for him as an individual whose career very much depends on his capacity to debate well. It may also offend the college. It risks being shameful in the maximal sense of the word (2012:36).

Dreyfus elaborates even more on the gravity of debate and scholastic allegiance:

The political character of Tibetan Buddhist schools became stronger during the protracted civil war between Central Tibet and Tsang during the sixteenth century. In that politically charged atmosphere, small doctrinal differences became markers of sectarian divides. Despite their marginal relevance to the political situation, the topics of the scholastic curriculum took on symbolic political value: knowledge of them provided a form of cultural capital that could be used to assert the supremacy of one's school. Holding the orthodox position became an expression of one's loyalty, and any deviation from the line adopted by the school came to be seen as political treason. In the Ge-luk tradition, failure to agree with the positions both of Dzong-ka-ba and of the monastic manuals is considered a sign of ingratitude if not outright betrayal, as expressed by the graphic condemnation of "kicking the bowl [from which one is fed]" (2003:319).

For this reason, even small references to debates between two individuals or vignettes of such debates found in histories and chronicles can be read as representing the reputations of different *institutions*.<sup>16</sup>

The Dge lugs Sect had developed a formal system of doctrine and a closed canon, two related

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<sup>13</sup> *srol*.

<sup>14</sup> *grwa rgyun*.

<sup>15</sup> Dgon lung monks may have stayed at the *mi tshan* 'affiliated houses' of its namesake, one at the Bsam blo khang tshan 'Bsam blo Regional House', for monks from farming communities, and another at the Har gdong khang tshan 'Har gdong Regional House', for monks from pastoral communities. Nothing is known about these affiliated houses (Tuttle 2010:57 and 57n43, citing Dreyfus' essays on 'Bras spungs Monastery on THL. Dreyfus, for his part, does not cite his source, which is likely the following: Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs chung [2009:237]).

<sup>16</sup> Elsewhere, I have given two such examples that I interpret as indicative of a decline in Dgon lung's intellectual reputation and a concomitant increase in the reputation of Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil Monastery (Sullivan 2013:54-55).

developments that help shield religious traditions from prophetic assault, among other things (Gorski 2005:179; Weber 1993:68-69). These developments were institutionalized and enforced at large and resourceful monasteries through the development of curriculums and systems of examination that measured monks' acquisition and knowledge of doctrine. Dgon lung documented and instantiated such a curriculum and system of examination by means of customaries (*bca' yig*), and it exported customaries to other monasteries. Whenever possible, monks who wanted any sort of scholastic education traveled to these larger monasteries, rather than staying at the smaller temple or monastery where they may have begun their monastic lives. They did this because these monasteries had the best teachers as part of its overall system of education, and also because it plugged them into a network of shared monastic practices and social mobility.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One oral tradition has it that Dgon lung housed over 7,000 monks during the Kangxi reign (1661-1722).<sup>17</sup> Although I have yet to find an historical attestation of this statistic, a Tibetan source from the time gives the more conservative figure of 1,500 monks, a figure that nonetheless made it the largest monastery in A mdo and one of the largest monasteries on the Tibetan Plateau at that time (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1998:340.25). The mid-nineteenth century Ocean Annals writes that in 1705, an important regional lama, the Sems nyid sprul sku Bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1655-~1761), made offerings to each of the assembly's 2,400 monks (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:117.8; Zhiguanba•Gongquehudanbaraoji 1989:116).

In addition to its sheer number of monks, Dgon lung also fostered eminent scholars. In fact, historical sources dating from as early as 1652 suggest that Dgon lung was the center (later sources say 'mother') of all A mdo "monasteries where philosophy is expounded"<sup>18</sup> (Skal ldan rgya mtsho 1999a:342).<sup>19</sup> It produced at least five *lha rams pa dge bshes* (Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:137-139), although none of these are as renowned today as the monastery's literati, authors of doctrinal treatises, religious histories, ritual manuals, and so forth. Of these authors, perhaps the most famous are Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-88), Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802), and Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786).

Dgon lung's preeminence among monasteries in A mdo ended in 1723 when the Mongol lord Lubsang-Danzin (b. 1692) led a revolt against the Qing that ended in the defeat of Lubsang-Danzin and his supporters, including Dgon lung Monastery. Utterly destroyed, it was not until 1729 that monks slowly began returning to the site of the old monastery (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:61.10). A few years later, in 1732, Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) issued a new name to the monastery, saying:

...the task [of reestablishing the monastery] is proclaimed accomplished, and because its old name was not elegant, a good name is decreed and established: the plaque that is bestowed reads "Youning si" [lit. Monastery that Protects the Peace] (Yang 1988:845).

<sup>17</sup> The figure of 7,000 monks during the Kangxi reign even appears in Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (2002:616b), though no source is given for the figure.

<sup>18</sup> *mtshan nyid bshad pa'i grwa*.

<sup>19</sup> See Skal ldan rgya mtsho's biography of Sde ba chos rje, aka Skyid shod sprul sku, where he calls Dgon lung "*mdo smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo dgon lung gi chos sde chen po*, the center of all the commentarial schools of Mdo smad" (Skal ldan rgya mtsho 1999b:248).

The young, nearby Bla brang Monastery appears to have passed through this momentous historical event unscathed (Nietupski 2011:9, 2009:186), and its size and influence continued to grow, eventually eclipsing that of Dgon lung (Sullivan 2013:51-59).

In 1866, Dgon lung was again burned to the ground, this time by a Muslim army, purportedly that of Ma Zhan'ao (1830-1886), a 'religious teacher'<sup>20</sup> and military commander at Hezhou in Gansu Province (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:25b.6). The 1870s likewise saw the monastery plundered. Dgon lung's main assembly hall was not reconstructed until 1878, under the stewardship of the sixth Thu'u bkwan Lama. Then, in 1890, another series of events perpetuated the monastery's decline, the most significant being discord between Thu'u bkwan and Sum pa over the latter's decision to cohabit with a Mongol girl. Louis Schram (1883-1971), a Belgian missionary who spent several years (1911-1922) in the vicinity of Dgon lung, writes that "Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung" (Schram 2006:336). Finally, in 1895, more Muslim rebellions arose, damaging many monasteries in the region and threatening, but eventually sparing, Dgon lung. This is the point at which we find Dgon lung when the fourth Wang Khutugtu, the protagonist of what follows, at his prime. It is precisely because of the ruin of the monastery during Wang's time that his actions are so important and illustrative.

#### THE AUTHOR: WANG KHUTUGTU

The text to be examined here – *The Customary of the Mirror that Illuminates [What Should Be] Accepted and Rejected*<sup>21</sup> – was composed by Wang Khutugtu Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khirms (1846-1906) for an Eren Monastery.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, we do not yet know the location of or much else about this monastery. What we do know is that Wang IV composed this customary in 1898 while traveling through Inner Mongolia. He had received an invitation from the Aohan Prince in 1896, explaining that he was needed again in the 'lower regions'.<sup>23</sup> And so, "once again, he set out for and arrived in Mongolia."<sup>24</sup> In the realm of the Prince of Baarin,<sup>25</sup> he performed many empowerments, such as that of the Sole Hero<sup>26</sup> (i.e., one of the principal Dge lugs deities, Rdo rje 'jigs byed, a form of Yamāntaka) and that of the Thirteen Deities (i.e., another manifestation of Rdo rje 'jigs byed along with his twelve-member retinue). For some four years he travelled progressively to Naiman, 'Jitir',<sup>27</sup> Darkhan, the Josotu League,<sup>28</sup> and so on. This was only a few years after the 1891 'Way of the Golden Elixir'<sup>29</sup> uprising that killed tens of thousands of Mongols and otherwise devastated Mongol society in precisely the regions where Wang IV was traveling (Borjigin 2004). Thus, it is quite plausible that the customary

<sup>20</sup> *ahong*.

<sup>21</sup> *Bca' yig blong dor gsal ba'i me long*.

<sup>22</sup> *'e ren*. It is spelled differently in the colophon: *e'u rin*.

<sup>23</sup> *smad phyogs*.

<sup>24</sup> *sog yul* – note that the author writes '*sog yul*' rather than '*chen po hor kyi yul*'. I am unable to explain this change in nomenclature.

<sup>25</sup> *pA ren*. This is a reference to one of the Baarin banners in Juu Uda League (Charleux 2012). Moreover, given that the Tibetan refers to this figure as a *wang* (< Ch. *wang*, 'prince'), it is likely he refers to the banner of Jasag Töri Junwang of Baarin/ Pārin (Dharmatāla 1987:42).

<sup>26</sup> Rdo rje 'jigs byed.

<sup>27</sup> Unidentified. Pu, in the Chinese translation, writes Zhalute, which is Chinese for the Jarud 'tribe' (Mo. *aimag*) (Duo and Pu 1990:159; Lattimore 1969:194).

<sup>28</sup> Josotu League comprised five banners, including the Kharachin banners and the two Tümed banners as indicated in Map 1.

<sup>29</sup> Jindan dao.

he wrote was an attempt to resurrect Dge lugs scholasticism in the region.

The Wang incarnation lineage is perhaps the least renowned of Dgon lung's five major incarnation lineages and 'estates',<sup>30</sup> the other four being Lcang sky, Thu'u bkwan, Sum pa, and Chu bzang. The lineage is said to be named after the village in which the first Wang lama was born, Wang chen khri.<sup>31</sup> The scholar-lama Per Nyi ma 'dzin writes that the first Wang was born into a Hor family with the surname Wang.<sup>32</sup> Despite the Chinese-sounding name of the lineage, four of the incarnations were likely Hor, and the third, may have been Tibetan (Per Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:99-114).<sup>33</sup> The name 'Wang' likely derives from the Wang Tusi, *tusi* being a title used to refer to the semi-autonomous 'indigenous rulers' that submitted to the Ming and later Qing dynasties in exchange for recognition of their right to rule (Yang 1988:609). The ancestor of the Wang Tusi, Nanmuge, submitted to the Ming in the fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1371). He was made an 'Assistant Commander'<sup>34</sup> and was promoted to 'Vice Battalion Commandant of Ningbo'.<sup>35</sup> The area that the Wang Tusi came to rule appears to be in the vicinity of Wang I's birthplace (Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1993:625; Qinghai sheng zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1987:280; Qinghai sheng bianji zu 1985:2; Schram 2006:127).<sup>36</sup> Since families that were ruled by the Wang Tusi took the Wang name regardless of their ancestral descent lines, it is impossible to know if Wang I was born into the *tusi*'s own family, the family of one of the noble households, or one of the many commoner households. According to Schram, the great majority of families surnamed Wang were "of Monguor extraction" (Schram 2006:127).<sup>37</sup> In any case, the ethnicity of the Wang incarnation lineage is not nearly as significant as the proximity of each of the incarnations had to the 'Great Mongol Realm'.

Schram writes that Wang I's predecessor was a lama from a Kharachin banner (Schram 2006:321). The Kharachin banners straddle the contemporary Liaoning Province and Inner Mongolia border (see Map 1 below). Schram's uncited source was probably an informant from the time he spent in the vicinity of Dgon lung Monastery (i.e., 1911-1922; in Schram 2006:86). Therefore, we cannot corroborate this curious suggestion. However, we do know that Wang II – Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas (1739-1804) and Wang IV, our author – both spent many years traveling to and living in Kharachin.

<sup>30</sup> *nang chen*.

<sup>31</sup> According to the editors of the *Youning si zhi*, Wang I's birthplace is present-day Xiaosi ('Little Monastery') Village in Weiyuan Township, Huzhu County. Per Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho's history, on the other hand, gives 'tA si' (< Dasi Village, 'Big Monastery' Village), which he writes is part of one of Dgon lung's former western estates (Duo and Pu 1990:121n247; Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:99).

<sup>32</sup> 'Wang skyA' might also refer to a village name. However, it is clear that Per Nyi ma 'dzin is identifying tA si as the place name and Wang as the family name. The Tibetan term 'Hor' is used in present-day A mdo to refer to the officially recognized 'ethnic group' known as 'Tu' in Chinese and 'Monguor' in English. Slater distinguishes between Minhe County Monguor whom he calls 'Mangghuers' and Huzhu County Monguor, whom he calls 'Mongghuls' (Slater 2003:9-10). It is unclear that we can safely use these ethnonyms to refer to those people and places our historical texts refer to as Hor. However, I consider the historical term Hor to refer to a Mongolic people and culture – a people and culture that finds their way into an encyclopedia of Mongolia (Atwood 2004:551-552). Ahmad calls the Hor 'Eastern Mongols' as opposed to Sog 'Western Mongols' (1970:110). I thank Gerald Roche for calling my attention to this latter point.

<sup>33</sup> Nyi ma 'dzin tells us that the first, second, and fifth were Mongghul, but does not specify the ethnicity of the fourth, although we know that the latter was born near Sems nyid Monastery. It is unclear what Nyi ma 'dzin's sources are for identifying the ethnicities of the various Wang incarnations, particularly the earlier incarnations.

<sup>34</sup> *zihui qianshi*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu*.

<sup>36</sup> Schram cites the *Gansu xin tongzhi*, ch. (juan 42:40b, 41a-b). Based on the scanned version I consulted, the section describing the domain of the Wang Tusi is actually on p42a. See also An (1989).

<sup>37</sup> Schram cites the Qing *Gansu xin tongzhi* where it states that the Wang Tusi oversees "eighteen Fan [Tibetan] households and 130 Tumin [Monguor] households" (juan 42:42a). The eighteenth-century *Huang Qing zhigong tu* likewise speaks of Tumin under the rule of the Wang Tusi (Fu 2007:juan 5:52-53).

Some time after returning from his studies in Central Tibet and ascending the throne of Dgon lung's Tantric College (in 1764), Wang II was told by Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje to spread the dharma in the realm of the Kharachin Prince Ratna Siddhi (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.3). This is probably the same prince whose son, the *lha rams pa* scholar *Lha btsun* Mthu stobs nyi ma (fl. 1778-1800), began his monastic career at Dgon lung before later serving as abbot at both 'Bras spungs Sgo mang and Dgon lung itself.<sup>38</sup> For several years, Wang II satisfied the religious needs of the people, both high and low, of the 'Great Mongol Realm' including both the Kharachin banners and the neighboring Aohan banner (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:66.15; Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.3). When Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799) was invited to "the famous temple of Erpü<sup>39</sup> in the realm of the Kharachin Prince," we are told:

... the emperor heard of the virtue of Wang II's greatness. The emperor looked kindly upon him, 'paid him reverence',<sup>40</sup> and bestowed on him both a superior golden 'offering scarf'<sup>41</sup> and a golden brocade. He also awarded him with the title of Khutugtu (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.4).

Eventually, Wang II returned to Dgon lung, where he served as abbot for three years (1785-1788). He is said to have donated many items to an endowment of Dgon lung, including a large statue of the 'Lion's Roar of Shakyamuni', a large Maitreya tapestry worth over 10,000 ounces<sup>42</sup> of silver, and pillar pendants made of the finest silk. He also pressed Thu'u bkwan to establish a 'trust'<sup>43</sup> for the 'monks' tea' and 'cash allowances'<sup>44</sup> necessary for the 'dharma class students'.<sup>45</sup> He then received an invitation from the Aohan Prince and returned to the latter's realm where he preached. He also preached in the territories of Kharachin, Tümed, Ongni'ud, Naiman, Khorchin, Darkhan,<sup>46</sup> and other banners (see Map 2 below) (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho, 1932:19a.5). On one journey through Aohan, he printed the *Four Interwoven Annotations on Tsong kha pa's Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:66.15).<sup>47</sup> Altogether, Wang II is said to have visited the Great Mongol Realm five or six times.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>38</sup> He was the forty-fourth abbot of Sgo mang College, taking the throne in 1792 (Bstan pa bstan 'dzin 2003:114). He served as abbot of Dgon lung from 1799-1800 (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:69.8). See also Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho (1932:20a.4).

<sup>39</sup> Unidentified. 'Erpü' may be a transliteration of 'Efū,' meaning 'emperor's son-in-law' (Charleux 2012).

<sup>40</sup> *phyag*.

<sup>41</sup> *mdzod thag* < *mdzod btags*.

<sup>42</sup> *srang*.

<sup>43</sup> *theb*.

<sup>44</sup> *grwa 'gyed*.

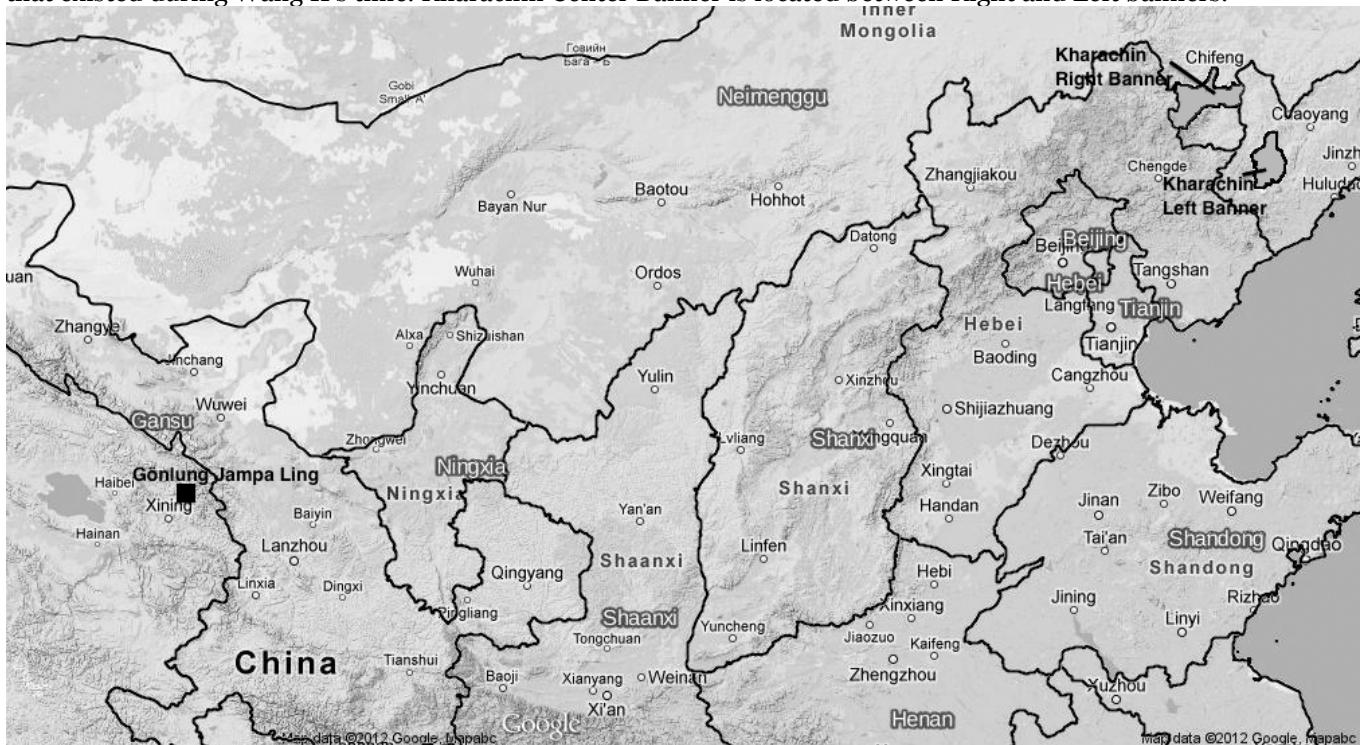
<sup>45</sup> *chos grwa pa*.

<sup>46</sup> T. *tar han*, appears to refer to the banner of the 'Khorchin Khoshuu of Jasag Khöshö Darhan Jinwang', also known as 'Darqan wang' of Jerim League (Dharmatāla 1987:428; Charleux 2003:364). I thank Professor Isabelle Charleux for confirming this identification (Charleux 2012).

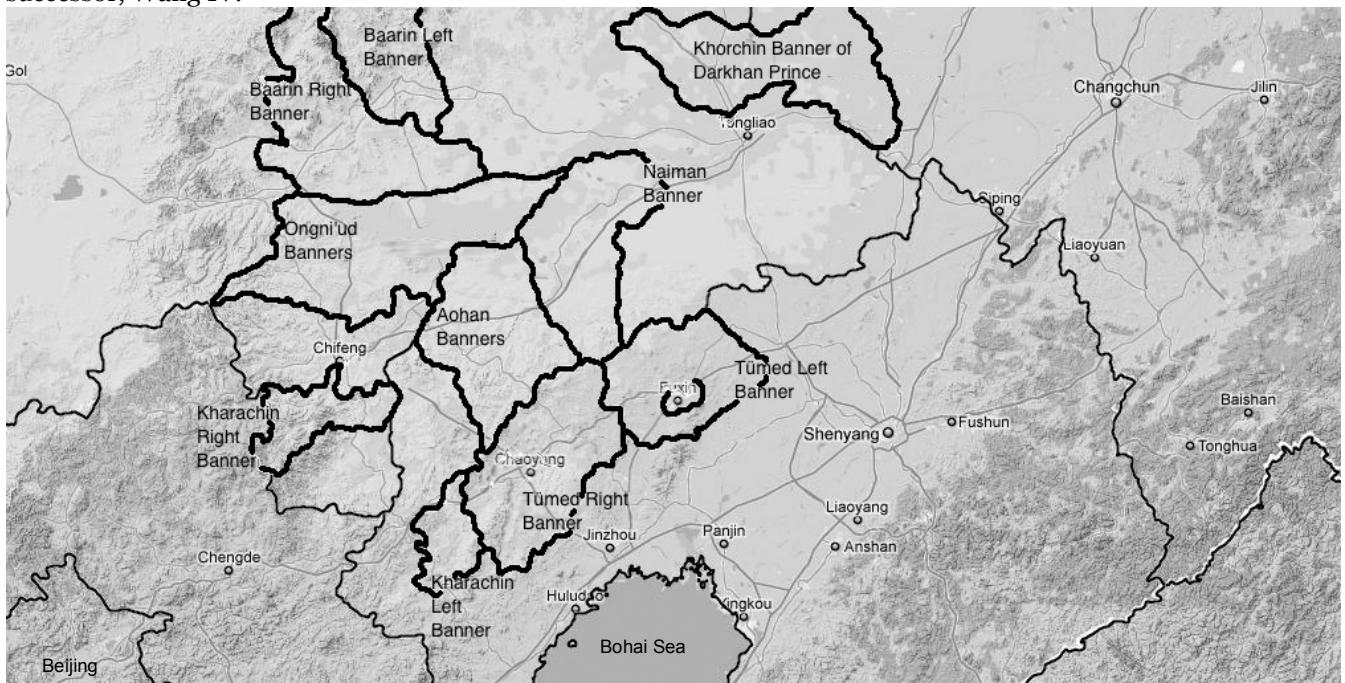
<sup>47</sup> The entire title of this text is *mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnams mchan bu bzhi'i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg chen lam gyi gsal sgron* (TBRC W29037).

<sup>48</sup> Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho (1932:19a.5).

Map 1. Dgon lung Monastery in the west and the approximate location of two of the three Kharachin banners<sup>49</sup> that existed during Wang II's time. Kharachin Center Banner is located between Right and Left banners.<sup>50</sup>



Map 2. The approximate location of the banners in the 'Great Mongol Realm' visited by Wang II and his successor, Wang IV.<sup>51</sup>



<sup>49</sup> For more precise maps showing the location of these banners see Lattimore and Isono (1982) and Lattimore (1969). Atwood (2004) and Charleux (2006) have useful, less detailed maps.

<sup>50</sup> Generated using the THL Place Dictionary, [places.thlib.org](http://places.thlib.org), and revised and improved with the help of Gerald Roche.

<sup>51</sup> Generated using the THL Place Dictionary, and revised and improved with the help of Gerald Roche.

His successor twice removed, Wang IV, likewise spent many years preaching and living in these areas. Although we know little about the ethnicity of this incarnation, we do know that he was born in Khu lung near Sems nyid Monastery, in present-day Menyuan Hui Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. Sems nyid Monastery sits along the Julak River (T. 'Ju lag; Ch. Datong he, Haomen he), situated between the Qilian Mountains to the north and the Daban Mountains to the south, the latter being the steep precipices dividing Menyuan County from Huzhu County where Dgon lung is located. From early in its history, Sems nyid Monastery had close ties with Dgon lung. For instance, Dgon lung 'cantors'<sup>52</sup> were sent to Sems nyid on several occasions during the first few decades following its founding to teach the Sems nyid monks how to recite, chant, and sing the liturgy and the proper manner for playing ritual music (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:113.18; Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Tianzhu Zangzu zizhi xian weiyuanhui and Kong 2000:208; Zhiguanba 1989:113). This is one reason Sems nyid came to be referred to as a branch monastery of Dgon lung.

Wang IV's father was a certain 'Mantra-holder'<sup>53</sup> Dkon mchog skyabs (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28a.2), suggesting that Wang IV was born into a family with a religious occupation. His older brother was the fifth Smin grol Nom-un Qan,<sup>54</sup> otherwise known as the Btsan po *Nom-un Qan*, Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho (b. 1839) (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28.4; Duo and Pu 1990:201n175). The Smin grol Nom-un Qan lineage was based at Gser khog Monastery. Though Gser khog was founded by a former abbot of Dgon lung, it soon began competing aggressively with Dgon lung for power and influence. The Smin grol lineage, which also possibly consisted of ethnic Hor (Lobsang Yongdan 2012), is yet another example of Mongols in powerful positions at this time.

In 1853, the young Wang IV was invited to Dgon lung where he was enthroned with much ceremony at his 'palace' known as Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil. Eleven years later, at the age of nineteen (eighteen in Western reckoning), Wang's fame spread far and wide, and he thus received a special invitation from the Aohan Prince to preach the dharma in his land. In the Wood-Rat year (1864), he left for the prince's "great palace that promotes glory and wealth in this world and beyond," where he spent twelve years (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28b.5). There:

...in that realm, with the help of the prince, [Wang IV] nourished the individual, religious longings of countless wandering beings, providing the kind [teachings] of the dharma, such as great tantric empowerments for the Sole Hero, Tutelary Deity of Mount Dge Idan [i.e. Dge lugs], and of the Thirteen Deities. As all the hopeful wandering beings were benefited and pleased, he breathed life into all.

Here, in the words of Wang IV's biographer (his successor Wang V Ngakwang Khyenrap Gyatso [1906-1963]), we see an explicit reference to Wang IV's Dge lugs evangelism.

He again exhibited this desire to promote Dge lugs practice when he returned to Dgon lung in 1876. As noted above, Dgon lung had been burnt to the ground in 1866, and it continued to struggle through many years of strife in the 1870s. An important turning point in the monastery's modern history appears to be when the Precious Tutor of Thu'u bkwan, Bstan pa rgya mtsho (1825-1897), was invited to Dgon lung in 1878. He was welcomed by Thu'u bkwan, Sum pa, and Wang himself, and was moved to tears by the pleas of all the Dgon lung monks and lamas. They described how the monastery

<sup>52</sup> *dbu mdzad*.

<sup>53</sup> *sngags 'chang*.

<sup>54</sup> T. *no mon han*. The term is Mongolian for 'ruler of the dharma'. Note that it has nothing to do with another Mongolian term, '*nomuquan*', which means 'gentle' or 'peaceful' and was the name given to Qubilai Qa'an's (Kublai Khan) son. My sincere thanks to Christopher Atwood for bringing this to my attention and correcting it in this article. Personal communication (19 September and 16 November 2014).

had been ravaged by warfare and called him 'He Who Incites the Flame of the Dge ldan'<sup>55</sup> (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:27a.4). He gave numerous 'permission-blessings',<sup>56</sup> transmissions, empowerments, and so on. The next year, in 1879, Wang IV took the abbatial throne of Dgon lung.<sup>57</sup>

Major events that Wang oversaw as abbot of Dgon lung included the search for and identification of the reincarnation of Lcang skya V, Lcang skya VI Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho (1875-1890?) (Duo and Pu 1990:203n199, 228). Wang IV was requested to take charge of this task, which he did, we are told, "in accordance with the prophecies from 'Central Tibet',<sup>58</sup> the name roster of the 'great yellow edict' [of the emperor],<sup>59</sup> and so forth" (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:30a.2). This curious inclusion highlights the political position Dgon lung held between the Qing court and the Dga' ldan pho brang government in Lhasa.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, as abbot, Wang IV is said to have vigorously promoted 'debate classes'<sup>61</sup> and to have overseen all the activities of the exoteric and esoteric teachings, such as the monastery's liturgy (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:29b.4).

When Wang IV tried to resign in 1882, the monastery's major lama, the 'dharma kings'<sup>62</sup> from the surrounding communities,<sup>63</sup> and the monks pleaded with him to continue as abbot. He then served another year before resigning in 1883. Wang continued serving Dgon lung Monastery in various ways. Two years later in 1885, he composed the Dgon lung customary *The Profound and Secret Golden Key of a Hundred Doors to [Buddhist] Treatises*, to which we shall turn when attempting to interpret his Eren Monastery customary and fill in the lacunae in that text. In 1895, "the evil, barbarian/Mohammedan<sup>64</sup> forces" were on the rise and threatening the safety of Dgon lung. Due to Wang's hard work and prayers, "the monastery's protector, the Chinese army, came from Xining." Thus, "the emperor and altruistic councilors used power, strength, [and] vajra weapons to utterly vanquish without remainder the 'demonic army from the dark side',<sup>65</sup>" and Dgon lung was saved from harm (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho, Wang V [1906-1963] 1932:32a.1).

In 1896, Wang IV returned to Inner Mongolia where he composed the Eren Monastery customary. In 1899, he returned to Dgon lung, whereupon, like his predecessor Wang II, he contributed significantly to the monastery's 'endowment'<sup>66</sup> and gave goods, tea, noodles, and cash to each of the monastery's monks. In 1900, the 'monastic council'<sup>67</sup> asked him to serve again as abbot, to which he consented, serving for one year. He passed away in 1906.

<sup>55</sup> *dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul ba*.

<sup>56</sup> *rjes gnang*.

<sup>57</sup> Surprisingly, it was at this point that Wang IV, along with some fifty others, finally took full monastic vows (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:29b.6-30a.2).

<sup>58</sup> *dbus gtsang*.

<sup>59</sup> *gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang*.

<sup>60</sup> The Dalai Lama is also known to have issued decrees on yellow brocades (Nornang 1990:261-262). However, a 'gser yig' seems to refer more directly to the Manchu emperor's decree.

<sup>61</sup> *rtsod grwa*.

<sup>62</sup> *chos rje*.

<sup>63</sup> The text names Sha bar chos rje, Ba bOng chos rje, and Phyug rtse chos rje all refer to places in the vicinity of Dgon lung. It is likely that Sha bar chos rje was also the 'Sha bar *nang so*' (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:77.25). The title of *nang so* "consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship" (Schram 2006:306-307). Moreover, some local *chos rje* may have been non-monastic figures. For instance, some *chos rje* are referred to as *lha pa* 'spirit mediums', which often are non-monastic figures (Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma 2000:646/7b.5, 650/9b.3). The first page number (e.g., 646) refers to the page numbers given the text by a later editor, whereas the latter (e.g., 7b.5) refers to the page number found printed in Tibetan in the margin of the text.

<sup>64</sup> *kla glo* < *kla klo*.

<sup>65</sup> *pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs*.

<sup>66</sup> *spyi 'jog*.

<sup>67</sup> *dgon pa spyi*.

## THE CUSTOMARY FOR EREN MONASTERY:

### "THE MIRROR THAT ILLUMINATES [WHAT IS TO BE] ACCEPTED AND [WHAT IS TO BE] REJECTED"

Om. May there be happiness and well-being! I prostrate before [my] lamas and Mañjuśrī!

Here at this Eren Monastery, for the purpose of increasing the learning of disciples, the one called Wang Khutugtu, with the purest of intentions, at the time of the establishment of the new degree of *rdo ram pa*, wrote down some notes on the steps of the system of granting degrees, of carrying out formal debates [defenses], of examinations, and so on.

First, on an auspicious day, either the 'head of the college',<sup>68</sup> the disciplinarians of the great assembly, or the disciplinarians of the colleges – whoever is appropriate – consults with the 'abbot'<sup>69</sup> and confer together, whereupon they are to nominate [the candidate for the degree of *rdo rams pa*] while [offering him] ceremonial scarves. Then, at that time, [the candidate] is given an 'evaluation'<sup>70</sup> of the Perfection of Wisdom up to the topic of 'lineage'<sup>71</sup> in the first chapter [of the *Ornament of Realization*]<sup>72</sup> and an evaluation of the *Madhyamaka* up through Establishment and Refutation.<sup>73</sup> On the third day of the first month, [the disciplinarian] must proclaim the need for a formal debate.

As for the testing,<sup>74</sup> on one [day] at the end of the fourth month, a request is made to the venerable abbot, the college *bla ma*, the disciplinarian of the great assembly, the college disciplinarian, and the director of studies. On the following day, [the examinee] is invited to the 'abbatial villa',<sup>75</sup> and two servings of tea must be given. Each is then given a ceremonial scarf.

As for debating, for periods of three days in both the first and sixth months,<sup>76</sup> debate from the colors<sup>77</sup> of red and white [i.e., from the beginning Collected Topics material] to *Vinaya* [i.e., the most advanced material]. While this is being done, it is permissible for the upper-classmen to 'drill'<sup>78</sup> [the examinee]. During the Great Formal Debate,<sup>79</sup> custom is that the upper-classmen lead [in questioning the examiners].<sup>80</sup> No matter which of the five treatises one is reasoning over,<sup>81</sup> other than the words 'the reasoning is [or is not] connected',<sup>82</sup> when debating, no other interruptions to the assembly are allowed. The questioners 'team up',<sup>83</sup> however, other than establishing points of

<sup>68</sup> *grwa tshang bla ma*.

<sup>69</sup> *bla ma khri pa*.

<sup>70</sup> *rdung rgyugs* - the manuscript reads '*rdung rgyug*'.

<sup>71</sup> *rigs*.

<sup>72</sup> *mngon rtogs rgyan*. I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for explaining this to me. Personal communication (February 2012). Jongbok Yi, after consulting with Jeffrey Hopkins, explains that this is known as the *rang bzhin gnas rigs* 'naturally abiding lineage' (Yi 2012).

<sup>73</sup> *thal zlog* – the manuscript reads '*thal srog*'. Jongbok Yi, after consulting with Jeffrey Hopkins, informed me this is likely a misspelling of '*thal zlog*' (Yi 2012). See *Thub bstan lung rtogs rnam rgyal 'phrin las* (1983:48, 6on22).

<sup>74</sup> *rgyugs* – the manuscript reads '*rgyug*'.

<sup>75</sup> *khri ba bla brang*.

<sup>76</sup> *zla ba dang po'i [sic] drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum gyi ring la*. The genitive particle connecting '*dang po*' and '*drug ba*' appears to be a mistake.

<sup>77</sup> A parenthetical remark in small, cursive script is found here. The first part of the line is illegible. The latter part reads "...do this at night. As for the method of taking the test, it is like in the past."

<sup>78</sup> *skyor*.

<sup>79</sup> *dam bea' chen mo*.

<sup>80</sup> *'dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod*. The meaning of this line is obscure. It could be that an elderly monk from Dgon lung would be able to recall the 'custom' of examination that Wang IV is writing about here, but I have not yet had the occasion to ask.

<sup>81</sup> *thal 'phen* – to point out the absurd consequences of an opponent's assertion or thesis. As such, it is synonymous with the '*thal 'phreng*'.

<sup>82</sup> *rtag gsal khyab*.

<sup>83</sup> *tshogs*.

scripture and reason, other responses are not to be made at any time. [The examinees] must debate [lit. "say 'there is' (or 'there is not) any connection'"] on each of the five treatises. At each assembly, the 'director of studies'<sup>84</sup> asks questions regarding the Vinaya ...<sup>85</sup> In addition, if spare time is needed to ask any [other] question, it should be asked.<sup>86</sup> As the assembly ends, [the exam] is complete. After the director of studies presents an 'extensive recitation',<sup>87</sup> the two [i.e., the director and the examinee]<sup>88</sup> recite the seed syllable of Mañjuśrī and then disperse.

Here I have prepared a brief set of instructions to act as an outline. I thought that a detailed one would be too long and confusing, and so I did not write one. In any case, [one] should not transgress the objective of the Teachings and the Buddhist Vinaya. So doing, may the protector deities and wisdom deities remain vigilant, watching for the appearance of the evil accomplices, the disturbers [of peace] – anger, envy, and desire.

This was written by the one called Wang Khutugtu Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho on an auspicious day during the waxing moon of the tenth month of the Earth-Male-Dog year [1898] while staying at Eren Monastery, the upper and lower stories of the Great Assembly Hall. May all benefits quickly and forever go to the Teachings and sentient beings! May this lend to the continuing presence of the Teachings of the Omniscient Victor!<sup>89</sup> ...<sup>90</sup>

#### EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT

There is great consistency between the system of debate, testing, and awarding degrees that is prescribed here and that set down for Dgon lung. This is not surprising, given that Wang IV is the author of the customary at Eren and of one of Dgon lung's two extant customaries. The point is that Dgon lung lamas – in this case Wang IV – penned such customaries and traveled to such monasteries, thus *exporting a standardized scholastic system*.

In fact, knowledge of Dgon lung's administration and examination system helps us interpret the rather terse customary written for Eren Monastery. Although caution must be exercised in making too many assumptions about the similarities that may have existed between the two institutions, doing so is justified due to the fact that Wang IV also penned one of Dgon lung's own customaries. In addition, the schedule of events and the terminology found in the Eren customary is strikingly similar to that found at other Dge lugs monasteries, including Dgon lung.

The most conspicuous difference between the two systems is that, at Eren Monastery, Wang IV is inaugurating the conferment of *rdo rams pa* degrees rather than *dka' bcu* degrees, as was the case at Dgon lung. This is simply the result of time. When Dgon lung established its system of conferring *dka' bcu* degrees, the custom of awarding *rdo rams pa* degrees did not yet exist on the Tibetan Plateau (Dreyfus 2003:144-5; Tarab 2000:18-19). A candidate for degree at Dgon lung was referred to as *gling bsres ba* 'examinee among mixed communities'<sup>91</sup> as one who completes the *grwa skor* 'academic

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<sup>84</sup> *gzhung las pa*.

<sup>85</sup> The actual meaning of the text here – 'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa – is unclear. It is likely not the 'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba by Guṇaprabha (Yon tan 'od), since it does not appear to go by this title.

<sup>86</sup> *de'i phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la ltas nas longs*.

<sup>87</sup> *tshig sgra rgyas pa*.

<sup>88</sup> Another possibility is that 'the two' refers to two examinees. Dreyfus (2003:235) mentions occasions during which two defenders would face an entire assembly of interrogators.

<sup>89</sup> This might refer to the Dalai Lama, although it may also refer to Tsong kha pa.

<sup>90</sup> There is a final line that reads "d+ha rma bu ti lba rta." If the 'lba' is an error for 'Inga,' then this may very tentatively be translated as "Recite [? rta] the Five Scriptures of the Dharma!"

<sup>91</sup> Dreyfus writes that this title may have been created at Sangphu Monastery (gsang phu) (2003:366n74). See

'circuit' and simply as 'degree candidate' (T. *ming btags pa*, lit. title-holder, or one [seeking a] title). From early in its history, Dgon lung awarded the title/ degree of *dka' bcu* (*gling bsres dka' bcu*), literally "the one [having mastered] ten texts," or "ten difficulties."<sup>92</sup> According to the *Ocean Annals*, Dgon lung's branch monastery of Sems nyid petitioned the 'government' of Lhasa<sup>93</sup> through the Precious Rgyal sras Lama (i.e., 'Jigs me ye shes grags pa (1696-1750), the author of Dgon lung's earlier, 'extensive' customary<sup>94</sup>), requesting to establish the system of awarding the *dka' bcu* degree at Sems nyid Monastery "like Dgon lung."<sup>95</sup> Perhaps it was the previous incarnation of this Precious Rgyal sras Lama (i.e., Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, ca. 1638-1696), or the founder of Dgon lung himself, Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho (death ca. 1637), who likewise established the system of awarding degrees at Dgon lung. In any case, '*rdo rams pa*' appears to be a later term that replaced older degree titles such as '*dka' bcu*' (Dreyfus 2003:144-145).

The most confusing aspects of Eren's customary are its schedule of examination and the extensive array of terms employed in the text to describe the examination system: *rdung rgyugs* 'evaluation', *dam bca'* 'formal debate', *rgyugs* 'testing', *dam bca' chen mo* 'Great Formal Debate', *rtag gsal khyab* "say 'there is' (or 'there is no) connection', and so on. In fact, monastic customaries are full of specialized terminology pertaining to different aspects of debate and debate practices (e.g., *rtsod zla*, *tshogs gleng*, *bsgro gleng*, *zla po byed*). The meaning of Eren's customary is made clearer by reference to Dgon lung Monastery and to the customs found at Dge lugs monasteries in Central Tibet.

It is useful to understand that the examination system prescribed for Eren, like that in place at Dgon lung, consisted of four major phases: regular testing, nomination for candidacy, continued testing, and the defense. The latter was the formal event at which the candidate, already thoroughly vetted by his superiors and his peers, would take part in a *dam bca' chen mo* 'Great Formal Debate', displaying his erudition to the assembly of monks and earning his degree.

Testing was a regular, required component of the curriculum for the monks who were enrolled in the monastery's dharma classes for the study of exoteric, philosophical doctrine, and debate. Monks were regularly reviewed by the abbot himself by means of recitation lessons.<sup>96</sup> During these lessons, the abbot recited the relevant section from the text being learned to the 'class rehearsal leader',<sup>97</sup> who repeated what the abbot had recited (Dreyfus 2003:251, 388n50). The class rehearsal leader subsequently went through the text with the rest of his class. There were also tests associated with the recitation lessons<sup>98</sup> that determined whether one stayed at their current level and, for those nearing the

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also Tarab Tulk (2000).

<sup>92</sup> Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho earned the latter in 1677 (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:115.25). See also Thu'u bkwan III Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (2000:739/49a.5); Sagaster (1967:43); Qinghai sheng bianji zu (1985:49); and Dreyfus (2003:144). The definition of *dka' bcu* given in the *Bod Rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 'Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary' (2008:50b) does not refer to "difficulties" but only to "five scriptures [*bka'*] along with their commentaries." (It also says that this was a title awarded to successful candidates at Bkra shis lhun po Monastery in Central Tibet). Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (2002:127) provides a similar gloss. The spelling of this term is inconsistent in the historical record; it is often given as *bka' bcu* and sometimes even *ka bcu*.

<sup>93</sup> This probably refers to the Dalai Lama's villa at 'Bras spung Monastery.

<sup>94</sup> This customary focuses primarily on such issues as responsibility for ritual sponsorship, the appointment of monastic officials, and the resolution of disputes and quarrels (see Sullivan 2013). In contrast, the later customary by Wang IV deals strictly with Dgon lung's scholastic curriculum, its manner of debate, and its liturgical schedule during the spring *chos thog* 'dharma/ study/ debate sessions'.

<sup>95</sup> Brag dgon zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos byung* (117.21-23).

<sup>96</sup> *brtsi bzhag*.

<sup>97</sup> *skyor dpon*.

<sup>98</sup> *rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs*.

completion of their studies, if they were fit to stand for degree exams in the summer.

The extensive customary of Dgon lung makes it clear that recitation lessons were a nonnegotiable component of monastic education and that all but the credentialed *dka' rams*<sup>99</sup> scholars and some who had been attending dharma class for several years were required to take these tests at every dharma session ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.3-4 and 31b.3).<sup>100</sup> "If one does not understand these things and forsakes [such] listening and thinking," the author writes:

If he seeks out piecemeal *sadhanas*,<sup>101</sup> [ritual explanatory] 'individualized teachings,'<sup>102</sup> and 'pith instructions,'<sup>103</sup> then he should know that he is turning his back on the intention of great scholar-practitioners such as the Second Victor, the Great Tsong kha pa. During dharma classes one is not to go elsewhere to listen to the dharma...<sup>104</sup>

Recitation lessons were not to be interrupted for any reason except especially important village rituals at which the abbot was needed to officiate.<sup>105</sup> This older customary also instructs the monks to practice their recitations for as long as possible.<sup>106</sup>

Apart from these reviews by the abbot, the daily debate practice was monitored by the disciplinarians of the monastery, who made tours around the debate courtyard. Students' practice was monitored even during the breaks from dharma sessions.<sup>107</sup> Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung explains how the disciplinarians were to make nightly rounds around the monastery to inspect the young monks, who sat on the rooftops of their residences to study,<sup>108</sup> tirelessly reciting their lessons. They struck a wooden block or some other instrument to alert the young monks to their approach.<sup>109</sup>

The Eren customary does not specify when nominations of degree candidates were to take

<sup>99</sup> This is probably an abbreviation for *dka' bcu rab 'byams pa* 'the universally learned one who has mastered the ten difficulties [or texts]'. Alternatively, this could be a compound for *dka' bcu* scholars together with *rab 'byams* scholars. *Rab 'byams pa* 'universally learned one' is a title commonly awarded by monasteries to successful candidates. '*Dka' rams*' is also written '*dka' ram*'.

<sup>100</sup> The latter passage ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:31b.3) is as follows: "*chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa thams cad la len zhing ...*" The precise meaning of this is unclear, but it may indicate recitation-lesson tests of the earlier dharma sessions (i.e., earlier in the year) were administered at the later dharma sessions for all but the *dka' rams* scholars. Moreover, it could mean that the First Spring Dharma Session goes on without such tests, whereas the following dharma sessions have them. The Seventh Dalai Lama tells us that at 'Bras spungs Monastery's Sgo mang College in the 1660s, recitation lessons were incredibly long and took place even during the *chos mtshams* 'dharma breaks'. This was too arduous for students, however, and eventually the recitation lessons were shortened and conducted only during dharma sessions (Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Khri chen spul pa'i sku blo bzang stan pa'i nyi ma dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa*, 1745 (1977):357/15b.1-359/16b.1-3).

<sup>101</sup> *lha'i sgrub thabs*.

<sup>102</sup> *khrid*.

<sup>103</sup> *man ngag*.

<sup>104</sup> Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:23b.6-24a.2).

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 12a.3-4.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 11a.4-5.

<sup>107</sup> The extensive customary of Dgon lung also explains that all visiting and resident monks over the age of twenty had to take written exams (*yig rgyugs*) at every one of the dharma sessions ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:31b.3). It is not clear, however, what these 'written exams' entailed. They may have been the same as the recitation lesson reviews by the abbot. In this case, a better translation would be 'reading exam' or 'exam of the memorization of a text'. See also the reference to 'written exam takers' in Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung (3b.4).

<sup>108</sup> Dgon lung informant (personal communication 2012).

<sup>109</sup> Schram suggests that they cracked whips during their rounds (2006:374): "At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms."

place, only saying that they occur "on an auspicious day" some time before the third day of the first month. Thus, by the time the new year had rolled around and preparations were under way for the first major dharma session, i.e., the Great Spring Dharma Session, the monastery's disciplinarians and abbot had to have a clear idea of the competency of the students. In the first month at Dgon lung, for instance, the disciplinarians are said to have presented the roster of dharma class students to the abbot. That practice bears a great resemblance to the process of nominating a degree candidate at Eren. On the seventeenth day of the first lunar month, Dgon lung's two 'disciplinarians'<sup>110</sup> are to offer 'merit scarves'<sup>111</sup> to the abbot, "along with the list of names of the 'dharma class students.'<sup>112</sup> "A 'petitioning scarf'<sup>113</sup> and a 'last offering scarf'<sup>114</sup> for the abbot are both taken from the [monastery's] 'common property.'<sup>115</sup> The prepared list of dharma class students is formally presented by the twenty-third day of the month (Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khrims 1885:2b.2). Nominations for degree candidates at both Dgon lung and Eren may have been considered by the abbot around this same time, that is, during the first month of the year.

The Eren customary also mentions an evaluation that coincides with the nomination of candidates at Eren. There is no explicit mention of this in the customaries for Dgon lung Monastery. However, we can confirm that the subject matter of this evaluation at Eren was also part of the examination system at Dgon lung. A 'test'<sup>116</sup> of candidates at Dgon lung that took place in the fourth month demonstrates that degree candidates at both monasteries were required to have mastered the same material. The extensive customary of Dgon lung tells us that "those who have not already taken<sup>117</sup> the [dharma session] exams in Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom are not given the *gling bsres* [degree exam]" (Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.7). Later in the same text we read:

Those who wish to participate in the 'academic circuit'<sup>118</sup> of this place must test on the 'Chain of Consequences'<sup>119</sup> of both Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom in front of those who have gathered together, such as the abbot, the disciplinarians, and the director of studies.<sup>120</sup> Afterwards, no matter what [they] question him on – be it all of the Special Topics<sup>121</sup> of both Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom, Vinaya, Abhidharma<sup>123</sup> and Vinaya<sup>124</sup> was expected, since the Eren customary informs us that degree candidates were ultimately tested on "each

<sup>110</sup> *dge skos*; Regional: *dge skul*.

<sup>111</sup> *bsod btags legs pa*.

<sup>112</sup> *chos grwa ba*.

<sup>113</sup> *zhu dar*.

<sup>114</sup> *mjug gi 'bul dar*.

<sup>115</sup> *spyi rdzas*.

<sup>116</sup> *rgyug*, i.e., *rgyugs*.

<sup>117</sup> Lit. given. In Tibetan, the proctor 'receives' the exam that is 'offered' or 'given' by the examinee.

<sup>118</sup> *grwa skor*, i.e., degree exams.

<sup>119</sup> *thal 'phreng*. See above.

<sup>120</sup> *gzhung las pa*.

<sup>121</sup> *zur skol*.

<sup>122</sup> This could also be translated as "I have not gone there," meaning "I have not studied that."

<sup>123</sup> I.e., Buddhist cosmology and metaphysics.

<sup>124</sup> I.e., traditional Buddhist law and discipline.

of the five treaties,"<sup>125</sup> and degree candidates at Dgon lung could not avoid answering questions on this material by saying "Don't go there!" Moreover, it appears that this evaluation of the candidate's mastery of these scholastic subject matters was conducted primarily by the monastery's top scholastic officers at both Eren and Dgon lung monasteries and that it *preceded* the formal debates before the entire assembly.

In Central Tibet, candidates for the highest academic degree, of *lha rams pa dge bshes*, first had to pass this stage of evaluation in front of the Dalai Lama's representative or even the Dalai Lama himself (Dreyfus 2003:257):

Candidates would be given questions to debate with other candidates, each one taking his turn to answer and debate on each of the five texts. Though in the next two examinations one can disgrace oneself but cannot fail, failure was possible in this first examination. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama sent a few candidates back, humiliating both the candidates and the abbot who had admitted them to the Lha-ram rank.

Although the level of competition was far more intense for the pan-monastery *lha rams pa* degree candidates than it was for the *rdo rams pa* candidates at Eren, or the *dkā' bcu* candidates at Dgon lung, the expectations were similar.

Once nominated, the candidate went through a process of intense scrutiny by the entire monastery before being allowed to participate in the 'defense'. The Eren customary refers briefly to 'testing' that took place at the end of the fourth month, which coincides with the latter half of the Great Spring Dharma Session. As mentioned above, Dgon lung carried out 'tests' at this point. The Great Spring Dharma Sessions was a period of heightened debate activity. Monks were already enrolled in their dharma classes, and they were participating daily in paired debate practice as well as witnessing and participating in 'formal debates' in which a single defendant would face off against a 'challenger'<sup>126</sup> or a group of challengers. The testing of degree candidates took place within this atmosphere.

At Dwags po College in Central Tibet, a Dge lugs institution that may have served as a model for Dgon lung, this period was referred to as the Ka rab Dharma Session, presumably because it was the point at which candidates for scholastic degrees were chosen (Nornang 1990:260). Dreyfus (2003:257-258) illustrates the intensity of a formal debate for a *lha rams pa dge bshes* candidate at other major monasteries of Central Tibet:

... [Candidates] defend their view in front of the whole monastery in a formal debate. One cannot fail but one can be humiliated in this difficult trial, which requires the candidate to spend up to ten hours answering questions on any topic related to the curriculum. This examination also involves a strong psychological element, since the defender stands against the entire audience (numbering several hundred to several thousand), which is expected to support and help the questioner [i.e. challenger]. When the defender hesitates in answering, the audience joins the questioner in pressuring him by loudly intoning "cir, cir, cir." If the answer is still not forthcoming, the questioner may start to make fun of the defender with the vocal support of the audience. Conversely, if the questioner falters, members of the audience may jump in and pick up the debate. At times, several questioners bombard the defender with a variety of questions. Sometimes they may join in unison as they forcefully press their points. When the defender loses, the whole audience joins the questioner in loudly slapping their hands and pointedly proclaiming, "Oh, it's finished."<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> *po ti lnga*, i.e., the five root texts of the Dge lugs curriculum, which included Vasubhandu's *Treasury of Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmakosa*) and Guṇaprabha's *Discourse on Vinaya* (*Vinaya-sūtra*).

<sup>126</sup> This is the term used by Lempert (2012).

<sup>127</sup> Lempert (2012) gives a very lively presentation and intriguing analysis of such a debate in the second chapter

Neither the Eren customary nor the Dgon lung customaries explain in great detail this phase of testing and scrutinizing the candidates. In Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung, we are merely told that the director of studies<sup>128</sup> commenced the testing after having sought permission from the two disciplinarians.<sup>129</sup> He began with the "Turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma," a topic in the Perfection of Wisdom literature,<sup>130</sup> and the abbot and the disciplinarians would also take part in directly questioning the examinee. The term used to refer to the examinee, *tshogs lang*, literally 'to stand [before] the assembly', provides another clue for reconstructing this event. The Chinese scholar, Liu Shengqi, discussing the examination system for the major Dge lugs monasteries in Central Tibet, writes:

...the result of these *Tshogs-langs* was not an official assessment for the monks' academic degree. However, it provided the heads and all monks of this monastery with a clear view of a monk's academic performance and based on this decided whether a monk could have a degree or not, though it was a long time before he took formal graduation examinations.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, it is clear that this testing at Dgon lung consisted of formal debates in front of the entire assembly and was similar to the formal debates illustrated above by Dreyfus. We can assume that the fourth month testing at Eren followed a similar pattern.

Finally, the candidate would have his defense – his Great Formal Debate. To some extent, this was a formality. As we have seen, the degree candidates first had to be nominated by monastic officials and then evaluated and tested to ensure their fitness for candidacy. On the other hand, we have already seen the intensity of the formal debates at the monastery, with the examinee facing off against a coordinated attack by the monastery's upperclassmen and resident scholars. Therefore, we should assume that the degree candidates and the examiners (or challengers) in the Great Formal Debate were equally animated and primed for the event. Moreover, the extensive attention given to the proper comportment of participants in this defense suggests that emotions could quickly escalate and get out of control.

The words and gestures of both the candidate and the challengers in the defense are prescribed in both the Eren customary and the customaries for Dgon lung Monastery. The older, extensive customary of Dgon lung goes to great length to prescribe behavior for all formal debates:

Whenever there is a formal debate, great or small, being attached to the desire for 'one's own victory',<sup>132</sup> having anger that wishes the debasement of one's opponent, as well as the defendant focusing primarily on [proposing] 'deceptive arguments';<sup>133</sup> having a smiling appearance while speaking quickly, arguing in factions, having 'conspiratorial talk'<sup>134</sup> of one's own distaste for 'debate';<sup>135</sup> in short, an 'intention'<sup>136</sup> marked by the wrongful behavior of degrading [others],

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of *Discipline and Debate*.

<sup>128</sup> *bla ma gzhung las pa*.

<sup>129</sup> *zhal ngo* - the manuscript has '*zha ngo*'.

<sup>130</sup> The "Turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma" is a reference to the first chapter of the *Ornament* and its corresponding commentaries. The theme of this chapter is the Buddha's wisdom of knowing all modes. Commentaries spin off of the phrase 'this all-aspected variety' (*sna tshogs 'di*). I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for explaining this to me. See also Arya Vimuktisena (*vr̥tti*), Haribhadra (*āloka*), and Maitreya (2006:3).

<sup>131</sup> Liu (n.d.), accessed 5 September 2012. This English article is said to be a translation from a Chinese article published in the 2005 volume of *China Tibetology*. I have not seen the Chinese original.

<sup>132</sup> *rang nyid rgyal ba*.

<sup>133</sup> *g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba*.

<sup>134</sup> My translation is tentative. *phug tshangs kyi gtam*.

<sup>135</sup> *bgro gleng*.

ridiculing, [saying] hurtful words, [speaking] 'querulous words',<sup>137</sup> speaking of others' faults, revealing others' weaknesses, etc. – [all of this] should not to be done.

Meanwhile, one should have a reverence that desires the realization of truth.<sup>138</sup> One should have a compassion that desires to dispel the misconceptions of others. One should have a kindness that desires to make one's opponents understand truth. While having such an intention and emphasizing scripture and 'reason',<sup>139</sup> to analyze and refute [one's opponent] in the proper fashion based on such things as the *Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition*<sup>140</sup> is a delight.<sup>141</sup> This is pure happiness ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:24a.4-24b.1).

The reference to the defendant in debate focusing on deceptive arguments relates to the lines in the Eren customary prescribing the types of responses a defendant may give, i.e., the formulaic constructions of "the reasoning is [or is not] connected," or "there is [or there is not] any connection." Thus *both* the defendant's comportment *and* that of the challenger(s) were of concern.

Lempert explains that such 'querulous words' were actually a regular part of debate:

Warnings about taking debate's martial idiom literally were conveyed to me with some urgency when I first visited Sera Mey. I was cautioned about the 'bad words' (*tshig nyen*) I might hear in the debating courtyard, like 'idiot' (*lkugs pa*) and 'donkey' (*bong gu*). Technically, such words are not permitted but slip out (*shor ba*) anyway, one monk explained. Doctrinally, consequences catalyze learning in defendants, but the kinesic accompaniments iconically figurate this method as a kind of violence.<sup>142</sup>

The rules of comportment applied equally or even more during the defenses of degree candidates. Again, the extensive customary of Dgon lung elaborates:

... only one monk [is examined] at a time, and the formal debate is to last up to three days.<sup>143</sup> As for those doing the questioning,<sup>144</sup> except for a few particular [cases of] elders who are in poor health, every single one of the *dk'a' rab 'byams* scholars on the monastery's roster<sup>145</sup> are to inspire intelligent debate. Moreover, they are not to employ any covert deceit, any misleading strategies, or spurious topics in their questioning. Even if they do employ these, they are not to do improper acts that destroy the Teachings. The disciplinarians are to distinguish the good from the bad [debate]. After the *dk'a' rab 'byams* scholars have finished, the classes go each in turn.

Next year's *gling bsres ba* are to begin formal debating at the dharma sessions beginning at this year's Great Prayer Festival.<sup>146</sup> All candidates for titles<sup>147</sup> are as described above. [The monastery]

<sup>136</sup> *kun slong*.

<sup>137</sup> *shags ngan*.

<sup>138</sup> *don rtogs pa*.

<sup>139</sup> *lung rigs*.

<sup>140</sup> *tshad ma sde bdun*.

<sup>141</sup> *tsha gad*. This gloss is a conjecture.

<sup>142</sup> Lempert (2012:56).

<sup>143</sup> Here we see that the duration of the defense – three days – is the same in both the Dgon lung customary and the Eren one. The only peculiarity is that the Eren customary prescribes two three-day periods, one in the first month and another in the sixth month, whereas the Dgon lung customs specify that such defenses are to be held in the sixth month. However, the line in the extensive customary of Dgon lung requiring that degree candidates are to begin formal debating "at the dharma sessions beginning at this year's Great Prayer Festival" seems to indicate that Dgon lung's degree candidates also participated in defenses or at least formal debates during both the first month and the sixth month.

<sup>144</sup> *rigs lung byed mkhan*. This term is synonymous with '*rigs lam pa*' (Dreyfus 2003:211).

<sup>145</sup> *dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog*.

<sup>146</sup> *smon lam*.

must not depart from the [practice of] wise one's leading debate and so forth, whereby only a little talk would take place [and one would earn a degree]. [Such] bad customs of awarding degrees must not be established... ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.6-26a.4)

The defense was the culmination of conferring degrees, preceded by the nomination and formal testing, not to mention the months and years of review and examination. It was thus important to ensure that it remained a formal, solemn affair. At the major Dge lugs monasteries of Central Tibet, the Great Formal Debate eventually took on trans-regional and even political significance. There, the event occurred during the Great Prayer Festival of the New Year and involved candidates from multiple, major, scholastic institutions. As Dreyfus (2003:258) writes, "its importance goes well beyond the boundaries of the tradition, as thousands of pilgrims came to Lhasa to attend this festival." In that sense, the importance of the defenses held at Dgon lung and Eren paled in comparison. Nonetheless, we know that the reputations of successful *rdo rams pa* and *dka' bcu* candidates were significant both locally and regionally, since biographies and histories never fail to affix these titles to the names of those individuals who earned them. In addition, these titles may have carried the prestige of earlier times, when Dge lugs adherents had not yet systematized and centralized scholarly titles (see Dreyfus 2003:144-145 and Tarab 2000:18-19).

Far from Central Tibet, the defenses at monasteries such as Dgon lung and Eren had to be carried out appropriately. This explains the numerous rules specifying appropriate language and behavior. It also explains the normative, ideological backdrop to the defenses, namely, that everything be done to promote learning and understanding and to benefit the Buddha's Teachings more generally. The passage above from the extensive customary of Dgon lung also warns against awarding degrees without going through this process of debate ("whereby only a little talk would take place"),<sup>148</sup> since a proper debate was of benefit, not just to the candidate but to the entire gathered assembly. He describes the process for awarding 'honorary degrees',<sup>149</sup> a phenomena that may have existed at Eren Monastery. The only monks permitted to request and receive such degrees were those from other monasteries who were suddenly required to leave the monastery to attend to other business. Dgon lung's own resident monks were not. This may have been a way to attract renowned lamas and scholars with fame and money from elsewhere while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of its education system.

"As for the process of [awarding] honorary degrees," he writes:

[They] do not need to engage in formal debate. On top of giving five 'community teas', they must 'speak from between the pillars' [in the assembly hall]<sup>150</sup> as if they were standing and debating<sup>151</sup> ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.3. Emphasis added.).

The petition for honorary degree comes at a price:

[Honorary] degree [seekers] must offer a minimum of one horse to the abbot. To the congregation of monks, two community teas and a mid-morning meal.<sup>152</sup> They must give an extensive *rnam gzhang* offering.<sup>153</sup> And to [the monastery's] 'beneficial endowment'<sup>154</sup> an ounce<sup>155</sup> of silver.

<sup>147</sup> *ming btags byed mi*.

<sup>148</sup> See above.

<sup>149</sup> *ming btags zur pa*.

<sup>150</sup> My translation is tenuous. The idea seems to be that the petitioners for honorary degrees are required to give a lecture in the assembly hall. The Tibetan is '*ka par nas bshad pa*'.

<sup>151</sup> *tshogs langs lugs bzhin*.

<sup>152</sup> *tshab grwa*. *Tshigs mdzod chen mo* 'Great Chinese-Tibetan Dictionary' defines '*tsha gra*' as "the *tsampa*

The arrival of an individual seeking an honorary degree meant instant wealth for the monastery and helped line the robes of its officials,<sup>156</sup> but there was a trade-off. The congregation would not have the opportunity to witness and participate in the grilling of a degree candidate. Therefore, this section of Dgon lung's customary concludes as follows:

If there are no individuals seeking a normal<sup>157</sup> [i.e., not an honorary] degree, then the *dkā' ram* scholars or whoever is appropriate are to engage in a great formal debate<sup>158</sup> as is traditionally done ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.4).

Such prescriptions did not guarantee that the debate and examination system was not abused or violated. Conversely, they likely reflect the actual existence of such departures from the ideal. Nonetheless, the very existence of hundreds or even thousands of such customaries, many of them composed by lamas from major institutions such as Dgon lung for smaller and sometimes distant assemblies of monks (or laypeople), illustrates the means by which sectarian and monastic orthodoxies and orthopraxies took shape.

## CONCLUSION

Dgon lung was a site of unparalleled influence during the first century of its existence. By the end of the nineteenth century, the monastery was literally in ruins, and other monasteries in A mdo, such as Bla brang, had long since taken over the principal role of 'local center' of Dge lugs scholasticism. Nonetheless, there were persistent efforts to renew scholasticism and monastic practice of ritual. The monastery continued to offer guidance to other monasteries, including its own branch monasteries in Dpa' ris and institutions far away in the eastern parts of Inner Mongolia, such as Eren Monastery.

Remarkable continuity exists in scholastic practices extending from Sgo mang College in Central Tibet, to Dgon lung in far northeastern Tibet, to Eren Monastery. The Wang incarnation lineage, one of the five major incarnation lineages at Dgon lung, maintained ties with patrons and religious adherents over several lifetimes. Wang Khutugtu IV, the protagonist in this essay, visited various banners in eastern Mongolia on several occasions. He spent over a quarter of his life living there and composed at least two customaries in his later years, one for Eren Monastery in eastern Mongolia, and another, lengthier customary for Dgon lung. These texts explain the necessary steps for maintaining a Dge lugs monastery complete with a system of examinations for degree candidates. The sectarian identity of these monasteries is implicit throughout these texts that describe the hymns that are to be recited (in the Dgon lung customary) and the treatises about which students are to discuss, debate, and be examined. I contend that Dgon lung Monastery functioned as an outpost of Dge lugs

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allotted to monks during the Great Prayer Festival by the Tsampa Office of the former regional government of Tibet" (Zhang 2008:2242). However, here, I surmise that the term is related to *tsha rting* 'mid-morning'. I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for suggesting this. See the possibly related term '*tsha bzhet*' in 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:31b.5).

<sup>153</sup> On "extensive *rnam gzhag*," "abridged *rnam gzhag*," and so on, see Sullivan (2013:199-200).

<sup>154</sup> *phan theb*.

<sup>155</sup> *srang*.

<sup>156</sup> Rgya sras adds here that "if there is an 'extensive *rnam gzhag* offering, the abbot and former abbots are all to receive 'great *rnam gzhag*' offerings each" ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.5). On *rnam gzhag* offerings at Dgon lung, see Sullivan (2013).

<sup>157</sup> *kyus* < *dkyus*.

<sup>158</sup> *dam bca' chen mo*.

evangelism even in its time of decline.

An implication of this study has been to further challenge the reification of the boundaries separating Mongolia from Tibet. Historians have witnessed and analyzed the role of Mongols in the history of both China and Tibet. However, as Diemberger and Uradyn Bulag have pointed out, the great majority of these works have fallen "in the school of evidential scholarship, examining the religious and literary influences of the Tibetans upon the Mongols" (2007:1-2). A closer look at the regular, historic interaction between such places as Inner Mongolia and its immediate neighbor to the west and southwest, Amdo, has been stifled by what Diemberger and Bulag call a, "conceptual segregation ... aided as much by historical communist hostility to religion as by the use of the nation-state as the major reference of scholarship and research" (Bulag and Diemberger 2007:2). Wang Khutugtu was not the only connection Dgon lung had with Mongolia. In fact, *all five* of the major incarnation lineages at Dgon lung had extensive ties throughout Inner Mongolia.

Our review of this Dge lugs scholastic network contributes to the recent renewal of scholarly interest in Tibetan-Mongolian exchanges. Finally, I hope that the attention I have paid to the details of the examination system at Eren Monastery may facilitate future research on the consistency and divergence of monastic practice that took place over the centuries and across the vast Tibetan Plateau and beyond.

#### APPENDIX ONE: NAMES OF TEXTS

*Composition that Binds the Many Mantrikas to Discipline: A Beautiful Ornament for the Community;*

*sngags mang la khrims su bca' ba'i yi ge 'dus sde mdzes rgyan* རྒྱା' མଦ' ལྡିତା' རୁ' སତଦ' ସଦିଧିଶ' ར୍ୟୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*Customary for Mantrikas; sngags rnams kyi bca' yig* རྒྱା' རୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*Four Interwoven Annotations on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment; lam rim mchan bzhi sbrags ma* རྒྱା' མଦ' ལྡିତା' རୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*Ocean Annals; deb ther rgya mtsho* ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*Ornament of Realization; mngon rtogs rgyan* ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*Profound and Secret Golden Key of a Hundred Doors to [Buddhist] Treatises; bstan bcos sgo brgya 'byed pa'i zab zing gser gyi sde mig* ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

*The Customary of the Mirror that Illuminates [What Should Be] Accepted and Rejected; bca' yig blong dor gsal ba'i me long* ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ' ར୍ୱୁ'

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## SELECTED NON-ENGLISH TERMS



Byams pa nor bu ཚྔମྟ དାନ୍ତୁ  
 Byang chub ཚྔଙ୍ଗ པତୁ  
 Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams  
     cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam  
     ව ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད  
     ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ  
 Byang du lhag pa ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད ད  
 Byang rar du spen pa ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད ད  
 Byang thang ཚྔଙ୍ଗ ད ད  
 Bza' ri tshang ད ད ད ད  
 bzlog pa ད ད ད  
 Cai Jingping 蔡金萍  
 Cai Yong'e 蔡永峨  
 Cha yas ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chab ril pa ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Cháhānménggǔ'ér 察罕蒙古尔  
 chang ba lu ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chang Ping 常平  
 Chang'an 长安  
 Chen Mei 陈镁  
 chen po hor gyi yul ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chengde 承德  
 Chenjia 陈家  
 Chenjiaola 陈交拉  
 Chileb, Chilie 赤列  
 Chinan Dewen Zanpu 赤南德温贊普  
 Chinan Dewen 赤南德温  
 Cho 'phrul ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chongli 崇礼  
 chos grwa ཁ ཁ  
 chos grwa ba/ pa ཁ ཁ ཁ / ཁ  
 chos lugs pa ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos mtshams ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos r(w)a ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 chos rje ཁ ཁ  
 Chos skor ཁ ཁ  
 chos thog ཁ ཁ

chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos  
     thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa  
     thams cad la len zhing ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
     ව ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད ད  
     ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ ଶ  
 chu bdag ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chu bzang ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Chuanhuang Erlang 川 黄二郎  
 Chuankou 川口  
 Ci byed du song ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Ci si khe ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Cin ci dmag ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Co ne ཁ  
 Cu'u hrin ཁ ཁ  
 Cuī Yōnghóng 崔永红  
 d+ha rma bu ti lba rta ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 da das ཁ ཁ  
 Daban 达坂  
 Dádá 达达  
 Daihai 岳海  
 Dala 达拉  
 dam bca' ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 dam bca' chen mo ཁ ཁ ཁ  
 Damajia 大马家  
 Dámín 达民  
 Dan tig ཁ  
 dang po ཁ  
 Danma 丹麻  
 Danyan, Luoergou 洛儿沟  
 daoren 道人  
 Dar rgya ཁ  
 Dar rgya ri lang ཁ  
 Darkhan, dar han ཁ  
 Dasi 大寺  
 Dàtóng 大同  
 Dàtōng, Datong 大通  
 Datong he 大通河

Datongping 大墩坪	<i>dkar yol</i> དཀར་ཡོལ
<i>dbu mdzad</i> དු་ມඳ	Dkon mchog bstan pa rab
<i>dbus gtsang</i> དු་ගྲང	<i>rgyas</i> རුය
Dbyen bsdums དුෂ්	Dkon mchog dar <i>rgyas</i> དුෂ්
<i>de'i phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la</i> <i>ltas nas longs</i> དී ພුර ກං ລේ ທි ລු ດො ບං ລා	Dkon mchog skyabs དුෂ්
<i>ltas nas longs</i> དී ພුර ກං ລේ ທි ລු ດො ບං ລා	<i>dkyus</i> དුෂ්
<i>ltas nas longs</i> དී ພුර ກං ລේ ທි ລු ດො ບං ລා	Dmag dpon pi tsi ri lang དුෂ් ດුෂ් ຕි ລා ລු ລා
Deng Sangmei 邓桑梅	<i>dmag rtsed</i> དුෂ් ຕේ
Deng Xinzhuangmei 邓新庄花	Dmar gtsang དුෂ් ກං
Dengjia 邓家	Dmar gtsang brag དුෂ් ກං ດුෂ්
Dga' ldan དුෂ් ར	Dmar gtsang rta chen po དුෂ් ກං ດුෂ් ຕේ ຢ
Dga' ldan byams pa gling	Dme དුෂ්
<i>དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු</i>	Dme shul དුෂ් རු
Dga' ldan pho brang དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු	Dngul rwa དුෂ් ລ
<i>dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul</i> <i>ba</i> དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු དුෂ් རු	Don 'grub དුෂ් རු
Dge དුෂ්	<i>don rtogs pa</i> དුෂ් རු
Dge ldan དුෂ් རු	Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho དුෂ් རු ཁේ དුෂ් ཁේ
Dge lugs དුෂ් རු ཁේ	Dong Yongxue 东永学
<i>dge skos</i> དුෂ් རු ཁේ	Dongdanma 东丹麻
<i>dge skul</i> དුෂ් རු	Donggou 东沟
Dgon lung དුෂ් རු (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺, Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)	Donghe 东和
Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo དුෂ් རු དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ	Dongshan 东山
Dgon lung byams pa gling དුෂ් རු དුෂ් ཁේ	Dongxiang 东乡
<i>dgon pa spyi</i> དුෂ් རු ཁේ	Dor bhi tis bang དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ
<i>dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog</i> དුෂ් རු ཁේ	Dor rdo དුෂ් རු
<i>ශ් ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ</i>	Dor sde དුෂ් ཁේ
Dgra lha bcu gsum དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ	Dor skad དුෂ් ཁේ
Dgu དුෂ්	Dor tis དුෂ් ཁේ
Dgu chu དුෂ් ཁේ	Dou Guanbaonuer 窦官保女儿
<i>didi</i> 的	Dòu Wényǔ 窦文语
<i>dka' bcu rab 'byams pa</i> དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ	<i>dou</i> 斗
<i>dka' bcu</i> དුෂ් ཁේ	Doujia 窦家
<i>dka' rab 'byams</i> དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ	<i>Dpa' ris</i> དුෂ් ཁේ
<i>dka' ram</i> དුෂ් ཁේ	<i>Dpa' ris ba</i> དුෂ් ཁේ
<i>dka' rams</i> དුෂ් ཁේ	<i>Dpa' ris tshe ring don 'grub</i> དුෂ් ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ ཁේ

Dpal ldan dar rgyas བ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpal rtse rgyal བ୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos  
     brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa  
     sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling  
     dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]  
     ད୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
     ସ୍ଵିତ୍ତ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
     ସ୍ଵିତ୍ତ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dpung nge ri lang ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dri med yon tan ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 drug ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dū Chángshùn 杜常顺  
 Du Jinbaohua 杜金保花  
 Duluun, Baiya 白崖  
 Dung dkar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las  
     ର୍ତ୍ତ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 dur mchod ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代  
 dus chen ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Duwa, Duowa 多哇  
 Dwags po ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花  
 E'érdān 额尔丹  
 Ershisanhao 二十三号  
 fala 法拉  
 fan 帷  
 Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟  
 Farishidin, Xingjia 星家  
 Faxian 法显  
 Fojiao 佛教  
 Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡  
 Fujia, Hulijia 胡李家  
 g.yang ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 g.yang 'bod ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 G.yang can rdo rje ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ

g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gab gzhags ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gab gzhags na thong ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gamaka 尔马卡  
 Gan'gou, Gangou 甘沟  
 ganda 干大  
 Ganjia 甘家  
 Gannan 甘南  
 Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃  
 Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志  
 Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏  
 Ganzhou 甘州  
 Gaochang 高昌  
 Gaodian 高店  
 Gāozǔ 高祖  
 Gar rtse sdong ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gashari 尔沙日  
 Gcan tsha ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gcan tsha ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ, Jianzha 尖扎  
 Gdugs dkar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Ge sar tshi me ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gélètè 格勒特  
 Gérilètú 格日勒图  
 Glang dar ma ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres ba ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gling bsres dka' bcu ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gling bza' thar mdo skyid ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 glo ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Glu rol ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gnas bdag ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 gnyan ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan chen ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan po smad cha dmar can ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ  
 Gnyan po'i sgar thog ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ ར୍ୱାଙ୍ଗ

Gnyan thog	噶尼穎	Guōlóng	郭隆
Gnyan thog 'brog	噶尼穎·俄	Guomari	郭麻日
Gnyan thog la kha	噶尼穎拉哈	Gushan	古鄯
Gnyan thog mkhar	噶尼穎·麻哈	Gusiluo	唃廝啰
Go bu me khrin	噶布密·克勤	Gyang bzhi	噶揚
Go bu me tu hu sun khrin	噶布密·突乎·孫·克勤	Gyen 'dzi ri lang	噶延·赤列·朗
go thang	噶當	Gyi ling mkhar	噶義·麻哈
Go'u sde	噶烏	Gza' brgyad	噶巴
Gol su	噶蘇	Gza' mchog	噶瑪
Gong sa rin po che	噶松·仁波切	gzhung las pa	噶明宗
gos sku	噶蘇	Ha Mingzong	哈明宗
Gru kha'i	噶烏	Hai Tao	海濤
grwa 'gyed	噶烏	Haidong	海東
grwa rgyun	噶烏	Hainan	海南
grwa skor	噶烏	Haixi	海西
grwa tshang bla ma	噶烏·班瑪	Haja, Hajia	哈家
Gsang bdag	噶桑	Halazhigou	哈拉直溝
Gsang phu	噶桑	Hami	哈密
gsar	噶	Hàn, Han	漢
Gser chen gzhung	噶色·堪·噶	Handi, Hantai	旱台
Gser khog	噶色	Hanyu Pinyin	汉语拼音
gser yig	噶色	Haomen he	浩門河
gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang	噶色·仁·烏	Har gdong khang tshan	噶爾·噶爾
gtam dpe	噶當	Hara Bulog, Heiguan	黑泉
gtor ma	噶	Hé-Huáng	河湟
Guan Laoye	官老爷	Hé'ér	合兒
Guangdong	广东	Hè'ér	賀爾
Guanting	官亭	Hebei	河北
Guanyin Pusa	观音菩薩	Heidingga	黑頂溝
Guanzhong	官中	Heihu Linggunang	黑虎靈光
Guide	貴德	Heima Zushi	黑馬祖師
Guihuacheng	歸化成	Heishui	黑水
Guishe erjiang	龟蛇二將	Hejia	何家
Guisui-Suiyuan	歸綏綏遠	Helang Yexian	何朗業賢 <sup>1</sup>
Guō'érduo	郭爾朵	Henan	河南
Guō'érduo dīdī	郭爾朵的的		

<sup>1</sup> [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]

Heqing 合庆	Huangsi 黄寺
Heyan 河沿	Huangyuan 湟源
Hézhōu 河州	Huangzhong 湟中
Hgarilang, Huangcaogou 黄草沟	Huárè 华热
Hgunbin, Kumbum, Sku 'bum Byams pa gling 塔尔	Huarin, Hualin 桦林
honghua 宏化	Huhehaote 呼和浩特
Hongnai 红崖	Hui 回
Hóngwǔ, Hongwu 洪武	Hulijia 胡李家
Hóngyá 红崖	Hún 浑
Hongyazigou 红崖子沟	Hunan 湖南
hor, Hor 赫	Huolu Jiangjun 火炉将军
Hor bza' hu sun khrin 赫·忽·孙·钦	Húsījǐng 胡斯井
hor chen 赫·钦	Hùzhù, Huzhu 互助
Hor dor nag po 赫·多·那·波	Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian 互助土族自治县
Hor dor rta 赫·多·拉	Hxin, Hashi 哈什
Hor dor rta nag po gnyan po smad char dmar can 赫·多·拉·那·波·噶·南·波·善·查·德·玛 can	ja khang 贾坎
Hor gnyan po mung khe gan 赫·噶·黑·噶·南·波·芒	Janba, Wangjia 汪家
Hor nag 赫·那	Janba Taiga, Zhanjiatai 湛家台
Hor o chi go bu me thu me lun 赫·俄·奇·戈·布·美·图·美·伦	Jangja, Zhangjia 张家
Hor rgya 赫·嘎	Jangwarima, Yatou 崖头
hor rgyal 赫·嘎·雅	Jí 吉
Hor se chen 赫·塞·钦	Jiading 加定
Hor spun zla 赫·孙·扎	Jiajia 贾加
Hor tho lung 赫·索·隆	Jiang Kexin 姜可欣
Hu Fang 胡芳	Jiangsu 江苏
Hu su ho 胡素荷	Jianwen 建文
Hu Yanhong 胡艳红	Jianzha 尖扎
Huáng 湟	jiashen 家神
Huangdi 皇帝	Jidi Majia 吉狄马加
Huangfan 黄番	Jielong 结龙
Huangnan 黄南	Jihua shengyu 计划生育
Huangnan zangzu zizhizhou tongjiju 黄南藏族 自治州统计局	jihua shengyu bangongshi 计划生育办公室
Huangshui 湟水	Jiirinbuqii, Tsong kha pa 贡·扎·巴, Zongkaba 宗喀 巴
	Jilog, Jiaoluo 角落
	jin 市斤
	Jīn Yù 金玉

Jinbu, Junbu 军部	Kong Lingling 孔林林
Jindan dao 金丹道	Krang co hrin ཁྲଙ୍କୋ ཤ୍ରିନ
Jingning 静宁	Ku Yingchunlan 库迎春兰
Jinzimei 金子梅	Kun dga' bkra shis ཁྲଙ୍କ' དଗ୍ସ བ୍ରା ག୍ରିଷ
Jishi 积石	<i>kun slong</i> ཁྲଙ୍କ' ཤ୍ରେଂ
Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘	Kuòduān 阔端
<i>jo bo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ	Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场
<i>juan</i> 卷	<i>kyus</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ
Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科	La ཁ
<i>ka bcu</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସୁ	La Erhua 喇二花
Ka dar skyid ཁྲଙ୍କ བ୍ରିତ୍ତିନ	La Nuer, Ernü 喇二女
<i>ka par nas bshad pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བ୍ରା ག୍ରାମ དପ	<i>lab rtse</i> ཁ୍ରେ ར୍ତ୍ୱେ
Ka rab ཁྲ୍ଲ རାବ	<i>Lailiao meiyou</i> 来了没有
<i>Kaile meiyou</i> 开了没有	Lajia 喇家
Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军	Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘
Kan lho ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	Lamaguan 喇嘛官
Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州	Langja, Langjia 浪加
<i>kang</i> 炕	Lanzhou 兰州
Kāngxī, Kangxi 康熙	Lǎoyā 老鴟
Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭	Laoyeshan 老爷山
<i>kha btags</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བ୍ରା, <i>hada</i> 哈达	<i>laozher</i> 老者
Khams ཁྲ୍ଲ མୁସ	Laozhuang 老庄
Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ གୁମ གୁମ གୁମ	Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)
<i>khri ba bla brang</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ བୁସ བୁସ	Lawa 拉哇
<i>khrid</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ	<i>lba</i> ཁ
Khu lung ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍	Lcags mo tshe ring ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ ཁ୍ରେ ར୍ତ୍ୱେ
<i>khyad chos</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	Lcang skya ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍
<i>Khyod gang la song rgyu</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ གୁମ ཁ୍ରେ	Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ཁྲ୍ଲ ལୁଙ୍ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ
<i>Khyod kha sang gang du song</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ གୁମ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ	Ledu 乐都
<i>kla glo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	Lha babs ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ
<i>kla klo</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>Lha btsun</i> Mthu stobs nyi ma ཁྲ୍ଲ བୁସ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ
Klu 'bum tshe ring ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>lha bzo ba</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ
Klu rol ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	Lha mo skyid ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ
<i>klu rtsed</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>lha pa</i> , <i>Lha pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ
Klu'i ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>lha rams pa</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ
<i>klu'u ri</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>lha rams pa dge bshes</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ
<i>Ko'u mol ri lang</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ ཁ୍ରେ	<i>lha rtsed</i> ཁྲ୍ଲ ཁ୍ରେ

Lha sa ལྷ་ས	<i>lkugs pa</i> རྒྱା
<i>lha'i sgrub thabs</i> ལྷའི རྒྱା མྱା	<i>lnga</i> རྒྱା
Lho nub du skra gcan རླྷ ནྙ ཉ ཁྲ ཁྲ ཁྲ	<i>Lnga mchod</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ
Lhor phur bu རླྷ ངྲ ཉ ཁྲ	<i>Lo brgya</i> རྒྱା
Li 李	<i>Lo lha</i> རྒྱା
li 里	<i>Lo</i> རྒྱ
Li Baoshou 李保寿	<i>Lo sar</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ
Li Cunxiao 李存孝	<i>long</i> རྒྱ
Li Dechun 李得春	<i>Long Deli</i> 隆德里
Li Fumei 李富梅	<i>longhu</i> 龙壶
Li Jinwang 李晋王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用	<i>Lóngshuò</i> 龙朔
Li Jinwang 李晋王	<i>Longwang</i> 龙王
Li Lizong 李立遵	<i>Longwang duo de difang</i> Hezhou, Niangniang
Li Peng 李鹏	<i>duo de difang</i> Xining 龙王多的地方河州,
Li Qingchuan 李青川	娘娘多的地方西宁
Li Xiande 李贤德	<i>Lóngwù</i> 隆务
Li Xinghua 李兴花	<i>Longwu</i> 隆吾
Li Yaozu 李耀祖	<i>lta-tchinbu</i> Лта-чинбу
Li Yuanhao 李元昊	<i>Lǔ</i> 鲁
Li yul ལྷ རྒྱା	<i>Lu ba go go</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ
Li Zhanguo 李占国	<i>Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren</i> 鲁班圣人
Li Zhanzhong 李占忠	<i>Lü Jinlianmei</i> 吕金莲梅
Li Zhonglin 李钟霖	<i>Lü Shengshou</i> 吕生寿
Li Zhuoma 李卓玛	<i>Lü Yingqing</i> 吕英青
liang 兩	<i>Lu Zhankui</i> 鲁占奎
Liangcheng 凉成	<i>Luantashi, Luanshitou</i> 乱石头
Liángzhōu, Liangzhou 凉州	<i>lugs srol</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ
Liǎodōng 辽东	<i>Lun hu khrin</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ ཁྲ
Liaoning 辽宁, 遼寧	<i>lung rigs</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ
libai si 礼拜寺	<i>Lǚshījiā</i> 鲁失夹
Lijia 李家	<i>Ma Fanglan</i> 马芳兰
Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春	<i>Ma Guangxing</i> 马光星
Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝	<i>Ma Guorui</i> 马国瑞
Lintao 临洮	<i>Ma gzhi dmag</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ ཁྲ
Liu Daxian 刘大先	<i>Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo</i> 马罕莫
Liuja, Liujia 柳家	<i>Ma Jun</i> 马钧
Lizong 立遵	<i>Ma ling yis</i> རྒྱା ཁྲ ཁྲ



<i>Na tsha go bkal mtshams gcod</i>	Na tsha go bkal mtshams gcod
ན་ཚ་ගོ་ບକ୍ଳ ମ୍ତ୍ଶାମ୍ ཁ୍ଚୋୟ	
<i>Nag chu ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍କୁ,</i>	Nag chu ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍କୁ,
<i>Nag chu'i kha ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍କୁ ཁ୍ଚୀ</i>	Nag chu'i kha ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍କୁ ཁ୍ଚୀ
<i>nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum</i>	nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum
ନାଗ୍ ପୋ ଶ୍କୋର ଗୁମ୍	
<i>Nag po skor gsum ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍ଗ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚୁଗୁ ཁ୍ଚୁଗୁ</i>	Nag po skor gsum ཀ୍ଷାଙ୍ଗ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚୁଗୁ ཁ୍ଚୁଗୁ
<i>nang chen ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚେନ</i>	nang chen ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚେନ
<i>nang so ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ</i>	nang so ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ
<i>Nang sog ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ</i>	Nang sog ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ
<i>Nanjia, Anjia 安家</i>	Nanjia, Anjia 安家
<i>Nanjiaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头</i>	Nanjiaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头
<i>Nanmengxia 南门峡</i>	Nanmengxia 南门峡
<i>Nanmuge 南木哥</i>	Nanmuge 南木哥
<i>Nansan, Nanshan 南山</i>	Nansan, Nanshan 南山
<i>Nanshan 南山</i>	Nanshan 南山
<i>nenjengui, yanjiangui 眼见鬼</i>	nenjengui, yanjiangui 眼见鬼
<i>Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ད୍ୱା ନୁ ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚା</i>	Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ད୍ୱା ନୁ ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚା
<i>Nga a khu tshang la song nas ད୍ୱା ନୁ ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା</i>	Nga a khu tshang la song nas ད୍ୱା ନୁ ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚୋ ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା
<i>Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya</i>	Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya
ନ୍ଗା ଦବାଙ୍ଗ ଲେଗ୍ସ ବଶାଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା	
<i>mtsho ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚନ ཁ୍ଚେନ ཁ୍ଚନ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେକ</i>	mtsho ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚନ ཁ୍ଚେନ ཁ୍ଚନ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେକ
<i>Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho</i>	Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho
ନ୍ଗା ଦବାଙ୍ଗ ମକ୍ଷେନ ରାବ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ଁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚନ	
<i>Nian Gengyao 年羹尧</i>	Nian Gengyao 年羹尧
<i>Nianbo 碾伯</i>	Nianbo 碾伯
<i>Nianduhu 年都乎</i>	Nianduhu 年都乎
<i>Niangniang 娘娘</i>	Niangniang 娘娘
<i>Nijia 吕家</i>	Nijia 吕家
<i>Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 寧波副千戶守禦</i>	Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 寧波副千戶守禦
<i>Níngxià, Ningxia 宁夏</i>	Níngxià, Ningxia 宁夏
<i>Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟</i>	Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟
<i>Niutou Wang 牛头王</i>	Niutou Wang 牛头王
<i>no mon han ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚନ</i>	no mon han ཁ୍ଚଙ୍କ ཁ୍ଚନ
<i>Nongchang 农场</i>	Nongchang 农场
<i>Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保</i>	Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保
险	险
<i>Nor lda bkra shis ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା</i>	Nor lda bkra shis ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚା
<i>Nub byang du nyi ma ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ</i>	Nub byang du nyi ma ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ
<i>Nub du zla ba ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ</i>	Nub du zla ba ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚୁ
<i>Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花</i>	Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花
<i>Nuojia, Ejia 鄂家</i>	Nuojia, Ejia 鄂家
<i>nye 'brel ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	nye 'brel ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Nye sring ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Nye sring ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Nyi ma 'dzin ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Nyi ma 'dzin ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya</i>	Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya
ନ୍ଯି ମା ଦ୍ଜିନ ନ୍ଗା ଦବାଙ୍ଗ ଲେଗ୍ସ ବଶାଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା	
<i>mtsho ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	mtsho ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>O chi go bu me thu me lun ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	O chi go bu me thu me lun ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>O chi hu sun ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	O chi hu sun ཁ୍ଚୀ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>O hu me tu ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	O hu me tu ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>pA ren ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	pA ren ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Pad spungs ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Pad spungs ཁ୍ଚା ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Pe dpa' ri lang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Pe dpa' ri lang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Pe hu ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Pe hu ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Pen hwa ri lang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Pen hwa ri lang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Per nyi ma 'dzin ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Per nyi ma 'dzin ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Per nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya</i>	Per nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya
ପର ନ୍ଯି ମା ଦ୍ଜିନ ନ୍ଗା ଦବାଙ୍ଗ ଲେଗ୍ସ ବଶାଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା	
<i>mtsho ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	mtsho ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs</i>	pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs
ଫା ରୋ ବୁଦୁ ସଦୀ ଦପୁଙ୍ ତ୍ଶୋଗ୍	
<i>phan theb ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	phan theb ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>phas thi ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	phas thi ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>pho brang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	pho brang ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>phrug ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	phrug ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>phug tshangs kyi gtam ཁ୍ଚୁ ତ୍ଶଙ୍ଗ କ୍ଯି ଗ୍ତାମ୍</i>	phug tshangs kyi gtam ཁ୍ଚୁ ତ୍ଶଙ୍ଗ କ୍ଯି ଗ୍ତାମ୍
<i>Phun tshogs ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	Phun tshogs ཁ୍ଚୁ ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>phyag ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	phyag ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>phying ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	phying ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Phyug rtse chos rje ཁ୍ଚୁ ର୍ତ୍ସ ଚୋ ର୍ଜେ</i>	Phyug rtse chos rje ཁ୍ଚୁ ର୍ତ୍ସ ଚୋ ର୍ଜେ
<i>Pin rkya tshi me ཁ୍ଚୁ ର୍କ୍ୟା ତ୍ଶି ମେ</i>	Pin rkya tshi me ཁ୍ଚୁ ର୍କ୍ୟା ତ୍ଶି ମେ
<i>Ping'an 平安</i>	Ping'an 平安
<i>Pinyin 汉语</i>	Pinyin 汉语
<i>po tho ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	po tho ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>po ti lnga ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ</i>	po ti lnga ཁ୍ଚେ ཁ୍ଚେ
<i>Pochu mixin 破除迷信</i>	Pochu mixin 破除迷信

Potala	པོ་ཏ་ལ	rab 'byams	རୁବ୍ୟାମ୍
Puba	普巴	rab 'byams pa	རୁବ୍ୟାମ୍ ପା
Pudang, Pudonggou	普洞沟	Rab brtan rdo rje	རୁବ୍ୟାମ୍ ପୁତ୍ର ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ
Pudong	浦东	Rab kha	རୁବ୍ୟାମ୍ କା
Qaghuali, Chaergou	岔儿沟	Rab kha gru gtong	රୁବ୍ୟାମ୍ କା ଗ୍ରୁ ଗ୍ତଙ୍
Qangsa, Chunsha	春沙	rang bzhin gnas rigs	ରଙ୍ଗ ବ୍ଜିନ୍ ଗନ୍ସ ରିଗ୍
Qazi, Qiazi	卡子	rang nyid rgyal ba	ରଙ୍ଗ ନ୍ୟିଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ବା
Qi	祁	Rangdin, Longdong	ରଙ୍ଗଦିନ, ଲଙ୍ଗଦିନ
Qi Huimin	祁慧民	Rangghuali, Longyi	ରଙ୍ଗଗ୍ଲାଇ, ଲଙ୍ଗ୍ୟି
Qi Jianqing	祁建青	rangpi, niangpi	ରଙ୍ଗପି, ନିଙ୍ଗପି
Qi Tusi	祁土司	Rar du pa sang	ରାର ଦୁ ପା ସଙ୍ଗ
Qi Wenlan	祁文兰	Rar lhor mig dmar	ରାର ଲହ୍ର ମିଗ ଦମାର
Qi Zhengxian	祁正贤	rdo ram pa	ର୍ଦୋ ରାମ ପା
Qianhe	前河	Rdo rje 'jigs byed	ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଜିଗ୍ ବ୍ୟେଦ
qiānhùsuǒ	千户所	Rdo rje gdan	ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଗ୍ଦାନ
Qianjin	前进	rdung rgyug	ର୍ଦୁଂ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଗ
Qiānlóng	Qianlong	Reb gong	ରେବ ଗଂଗ
Qiao Dongmei	乔冬梅	Reb gong gnyan thog	ରେବ ଗଂଗ ଗନ୍ୟାନ ଥୋଗ
Qiao Shenghua	乔生华	Reb gong rgan rgya	ରେବ ଗଂଗ ରଗା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା
Qighaan Dawa, Baiyahe	白牙合	ren po che, rnbuqii, renboqie	ରେନ ପୋ ଚେ, ରନ୍ବୁକ୍ତି, ରେନ୍ବୋକ୍ତି
Qijia	祁家	ren	ରେନ
Qijia Laoye	祁家老爷	Renminbi	ରେନମିବି
Qilián, Qilian	祁连	Rgan rgya	ରେଣା ର୍ଗ୍ୟା
Qiliao! Sanliao!	去了! 散了!	Rgulang, Dgon lung	ର୍ଗୁଲାଙ୍ଗ, ଦ୍ଗୋନ ଲୁଙ୍ଗ
Qín	秦	Guolong	ଗୁଲାଙ୍ଗ, ଯୁ-ନିଙ୍, ଯୁନିଙ୍
Qīng, Qing	清	rgya	ର୍ଗ୍ୟା
Qingdao	青岛	Rgya bza' kong jo	ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ବ୍ଜା' କଂଙ୍ ଜୋ
Qinghai yiyo weishengzhi	青海医药卫生志	Rgya gar rdo rje gdan	ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ଗାର ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ ଗ୍ଦାନ
Qīnghǎi, Qinghai	青海	Rgya hor	ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ହୋର
Qinghaihua	青海话	Rgya tshang ma	ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ତ୍ଶାଙ୍ ମା
Qinghaisheng Fangyizhan	青海省防疫站	Rgyal sras	ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ସ୍ରାସ
qingkuo	青稞	Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags	ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ସ୍ରାସ ଜିଗ୍ ମେ ଯେ ଶେ ଗ୍ରାଙ୍
Qinglong Tianzi	青龙天子	pa	ପା
Qingming	清明	Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho	ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ସ୍ରାସ ଡନ ଯୋଦ ଚୋସ କ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶ୍ବୋ
Qingyun	庆云	rgyug	ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଗ
Quurisang Srishiji, Huayuansi	花园寺	Rgyal sras rin po che	ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ସ୍ରାସ ରିଙ୍ ପୋ ଚେ
Ra	𠂇		

<i>rgyugs</i> 壬	<i>rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘
<i>rgyugs len pa</i> 壬·壘·壘·壘	<i>rtsod grwa</i> 壴·壘
Ri lang 壴·壘	<i>rtsod zla</i> 壴·壘
Ri lang bcu gnyis 壴·壘·壘·壘	<i>sa</i> 壴
Ri stag 壴·壘	<i>sa bdag</i> 壴·壘
<i>rigs</i> 壴	<i>Sa bdag sog po ri lang</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘
<i>rigs lam pa</i> 壴·壘·壘	<i>sa dpyad pa</i> 壴·壘
<i>rigs lung byed mkhan</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘	Salar, Sala 撒拉
Rin chen sgrol ma 壴·壘·壘·壘	San'erjia 三二家
<i>ris med</i> 壴·壘	Sānchuān, Sanchuan 三川
Riyue Dalang 日月大郎	Sānchuān Tǔzú 三川土族
<i>rjes gnang</i> 壴·壘·壘	Sānchuānsīlǐ 三川四里
<i>rka</i> 壴	Sandohe 三道河
Rka gsar 壴·壘	Sangjie Renqian 桑杰仁谦
Rka gsar dgon dga' ldan 'dus bzang chos gling 壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘	<i>Sde ba chos rje</i> 壴·壘·壘
<i>rlung rta</i> 壴·壘	<i>Sde srid</i> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 壘·壘·壘
Rma chu 壴	<i>Se ra</i> 壴
Rma chu'i rab kha dngul ri'i sa bzang gri spyod rab kha 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘	Sems mtsho 壴·壘
Rma lho 壴	Sems nyid, <i>sems nyid</i> 壴·壘
RMB, Renminbi 人民币	Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘
<i>rnam 'grel</i> 壴·壘	<i>sen chugs</i> 壴·壘
<i>rnam gzhag</i> 壴·壘	Seng ge gshong 壴·壘·壘
Rnam rgyal 壴·壘	<i>sgar</i> 壴
<i>rnbuqii, rin po che</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘	Sgar thog 壴·壘
仁波切	Sgo dmar 壴·壘
Rong bo 壴	Sgo dmar G.yang mo tshe ring 壴·壘·壘·壘·壘·壘
Rong bo nang so 壴·壘·壘	Sgo mang 壴·壘
Rong zom 壴·壘	Sgo mang grwa tshang 壴·壘·壘·壘
<i>ronghuafugui</i> 荣华富贵	<i>Sgrol ma</i> 壴·壘
Rta 'gying 壴·壘	<i>sgrub sde</i> 壴·壘
<i>rta chen po</i> 壴·壘·壘	Sha bar chos rje 壴·壘·壘
Rta mgrin 壴·壘	Sha bar nang so 壴·壘·壘
<i>rtag gsal khyab</i> 壴·壘·壘·壘	Sha Delin 沙德林
<i>rtsam pa</i> 壴·壘	Sha Heshang 沙和尚
Rtse khog 壴·壘	Shaanxi, Shānxī 陕西

shags ngan	西藏	Sichuan	四川
Shahai	沙海	skabs bzhi pa	អាសារពិស
Shānběi	陕北	Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho	អាសារិយេសាត្រក្បាស
Shancheng	山城		អាសារិយេសាត្រក្បាស
Shandong	山东		អាសារិយេសាត្រក្បាស
Shanghai	上海		អាសារិយេសាត្រក្បាស
Shangzhai	上寨	Sko tshi me	អិតិមេ
Shānxī, Shanxi	山西	skor ru	អិរុ
Shanzhaojia	山赵家	skra ka	អិកា
Shanzhou	鄯州	skra phab	អិរាប
Shao Yundong	邵雲東	Sku 'bum	អិបុម
Shaowa	勺哇	Sku 'bum byams pa gling	អិបុមបុមសារបុណ្ណោះ
Shar Bla ma	扎拉	Skya rgya, Jiajia	贾加
shar		Skyabs 'gro	អិរិយេស្ត
Shatangchuan	沙塘川	Skyid shod sprul sku	អិធមេស្តិស្តិស្តិ
Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni	释迦摩尼	skyor	អិរុ
Shdangja, Dongjia	东家	skyor dpon	អិរុស៊ិក
Shdara Tang, Dalantan	达拉滩	Smad pa	អិណិ
shen jian	神剑	smad phyogs	អិណិសារ
shenfu	神甫	smeen, Sier	寺尔
sheng	升	Smeen, Ximi	西米
Shenjiao	教神	Smin grol	អិនិរិយេស្ត
sheqi	蛇旗	Smin grol no min han	អិនិរិយេស្តនិនិនិនិ
Shgeayili, Dazhuang	大庄	Smon lam, smon lam	អិនិរិយេស្ត
Shi Cunwu	师存武	smyung gnas	អិនិសារ
Shi'er Wei Zushi	十二位祖师	sna tshogs 'di	អិនិសារិនិ
shibei	石碑	sngags 'chang	អិនិសារិកណុ
Shina	史纳	sngags pa	អិនិសារ
Shing bza'	狮子	Snying bo rgyal	អិនិស្តិស្តិ
Shíyá	石崖	Snying mo	អិនិស្តិ
sho ma	狮子	Snying rje tshogs pa	អិនិនិសារិសារ
shor ba	狮子	Sog	អិនិសារ
shuang xi	双喜	Sog rdzong	អិនិស្តិស្តិ
Shuangma Tongzi	双马童子	Sog rgya	អិនិស្តិ
Shuangshu	双树	sog yul	អិនិស្តិ
Shuilian Dong	水帘洞	Song Ying	宋颖
Shuimogou	水磨沟	song	អិនិ



<i>tshad ma sde bdun</i> ཁ་ས་ස་	Tǔzú, Tuzu 土族
<i>tshang</i> ཁ	Tuzuyu 土族语
Tshe hrin yan ཁྱିଣྡྱ	Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)
Tshe ring ཁྱିଙ	Wang, <i>wang</i> 王
Tshe ring don 'grub ཁྱିଙྡྱ གྲྔ	Wang chen khri ཤླྔକྱି
Tshe ring skyid ཁྱିଙྡྱ གྲྔ	Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花
<i>tshi me</i> ཁྱି	Wang skyA ཤླྔଶ୍ଚ
<i>tshig nyen</i> ཁྱିଣྡྱ	Wang Tusi 汪土司
<i>tshig sgra rgyas pa</i> ཁྱିଣྡྱ ཁྱିଣྡྱ	Wang Wenyan 王文艳
<i>tsho ba</i> ཁྱି	Wang Yanzhang 王彦章
Tsho ཁ	Wang Yongqing 王永庆
Tsho kha ཁྱା	Wáng Yúnfēng 王云风
<i>tshogs</i> ཁྱା	Wangjia 王家
<i>tshogs lang</i> ཁྱା ཁྱା	Wànli 万历
<i>tshogs langs lugs bzhin</i> ཁྱା ཁྱା ཁྱା ཁྱି	Wanzi 湾子
Tshwa mtsho ཁྱା ཁྱା	Wǎqúsīlǐ 瓦渠四里
Tsi tsong ཁྱି ཁྱି	Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计划生育局
Tso ri ri lang ཁྱି ཁྱି ཁྱା	Wēiyuǎn, Weiyuan 威远
Tso shi ri lang ཁྱି ཁྱି ཁྱା	Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈
Tsong kha ཁྱା	Wen Xiping 文喜萍
Tsong kha pa ཁྱା ཁྱା, Zongkaba 宗喀巴	Wenbu 温逋
<i>tszurhaitchi</i> ཀྱྱା ཀྱྱା	Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主
Tǔ, Tu 土	Wenjia 文家
Tǔdá 土达	Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望
Tūfān, Tufan 吐蕃	Wu Jielun 吴解勋
Tughuan, Tuguan 土官	Wu Lanyou 吴兰友
Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官 娘娘	Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪
Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山	Wujia 吴家
Tūhún 吐浑	Wulan 乌兰
Tuìhún 退浑	Wushi 五十
Tǔmín, Tumin 土民	Wushi 梧释
Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊	Wushi xiāng 五十乡
Türén, Turen 土人	Wutun 吾屯
<i>tūsī, tusi</i> 土司	Wutun 五屯
Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)	Wuyangbu 威远堡
Tūyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑	Wuyue Dangwu 五月当午
	Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午

Xanjang, <i>xanjang</i> , Shancheng, <i>shancheng</i> 山城	Xue Wenhua 薛文华
Xi'an 西安	Xunhua 循化
Xia 夏	Yá'er 崖尔
Xia Guo 夏国	Yan Guoliang 闫国良
Xiahe 夏河	Yáng 杨
Xiakou 峡口	Yang Chun 杨春
Xianbei 鲜卑	Yang lji tsho ba ཡང་ලྐྱ བ
Xianrenmin weishengyuan 县人民卫生院	Yang Xia 杨霞
Xianrenmin yiyuan 县人民医院	Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛
Xiaosi 小寺	Yangja, Yangjia 杨家
Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发	Yangjia 杨家
Xie 谢	Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化
Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花	Yangzi, Changjiang 长江
Xiejia 谢家	Yar klung tsang po ཡར་ཀླུང་藏་པ
Xiela 协拉	Yar sko tsho ba ཡར་ສྐྱ བ
Xiera, Xiela 协拉	Yar sko ཡර་ສྐྱ
Xifan 西番	Ye su khe ཡྺ ཟྱ ເ
Xikouwai 西口外	Yí 夷
Xin 辛	Yi Lang 衣郎
Xin Youfang 辛有芳	<i>yig cha gsar ba</i> ཡିଗ୍ ଚା ଗସା ବା
Xing Haiyan 邢海燕	<i>yig rgyugs</i> ཡିଗ୍ ର୍ଗ୍ୟଗ୍ସ
Xing Quancheng 星全成	Yigongcheng 移公城
Xing Yonggui 邢永贵	Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜
Xing'er 杏儿	Ying Zihua 英子花
<i>xingfu</i> 幸福	Yīngzōng 英宗
Xīníng, Xining 西宁, 西寧	<i>yinyang</i> 阴阳
Xining Zhi 西宁志	Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家
Xinjia 辛家	Yon tan 'od ཌྷୟ ନ ଟ ଦ
Xinxia 辛峡	Yon tan rgya mtsho ཌྷୟ ନ ଟ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ
Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花	Yǒngchàng 永昌
Xiwanzi 西灣子	Yǒngdèng 永登
Xiyingzi 西营子	Yǒnglè, Yongle 永乐, 永樂
Xu Xiufu 徐秀福	Yongning 永宁
Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄	Yongzheng 雍正
Xuanhua 宣化	Yòuníng 佑宁
Xuanzang 玄奘	Youning si 佑寧寺
Xuānzōng 宣宗	Yuan, <i>yuan</i> 元

yue 月

Yul shul ཡུལ་ཤོལ

yul srol ཡུལ་ສྒྲོལ

Yun ci dmag ཌྷྙ ཚ ད ཡ མ

Zan Yulan 答玉兰

Zanza 答扎

zao 枣

zaoren 枣仁

Zeku 泽库

Zelin 泽林

zha ngo མ ག

zhal ngo མ ག

Zhalute 扎鲁特

Zhang blon bzhi མ ག བ ཚ ས ཤ

Zhang Chongsunhua 张重孙花

Zhāng Dézū 张得祖

Zhang Xiang 张翔

Zhang Xihua 张喜花

Zhang Yinghua 张英花

Zhang Yongjun 张永俊

Zhangjiakou 张家口

Zhao Guilan 赵桂兰

Zhao Jinzihua 赵金子花

Zhao Xiuhua 赵秀花

Zhao Xiulan 赵秀兰

Zhao Yongxiang 赵永祥

Zhaomuchuan 赵木川

Zhejiang 浙江

zhihui qianshi 指揮僉事

Zhili 直隶

Zhong Jingwen 钟进文

Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei 张淑梅

zhongdouju 种痘局

Zhu Bajie 猪八戒

Zhu Changminghua 朱长命花

Zhu Chunhua 朱春花

zhu dar མ ད

Zhu Ernuer, Ernü 朱二女

Zhu Guobao 朱国宝

Zhu Haishan 朱海山

Zhu Jinxiu 朱金秀

Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰

Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠

Zhuang Xueben 庄学本

Zhuānglàng 庄浪

Zhujia 朱家

Zhuoni 卓尼

Zi ling ཡ ས ཏ

zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum

gyi ring la ཡ ས ཏ ས ས ས ས ས

zla po byed ཡ ས ཏ

Zo wi ne ni ཡ ས ས

Zongge 宗哥

Zonggecheng 宗哥城

zongjia 天子

zur skol ཡ ས

Zushi 祖师